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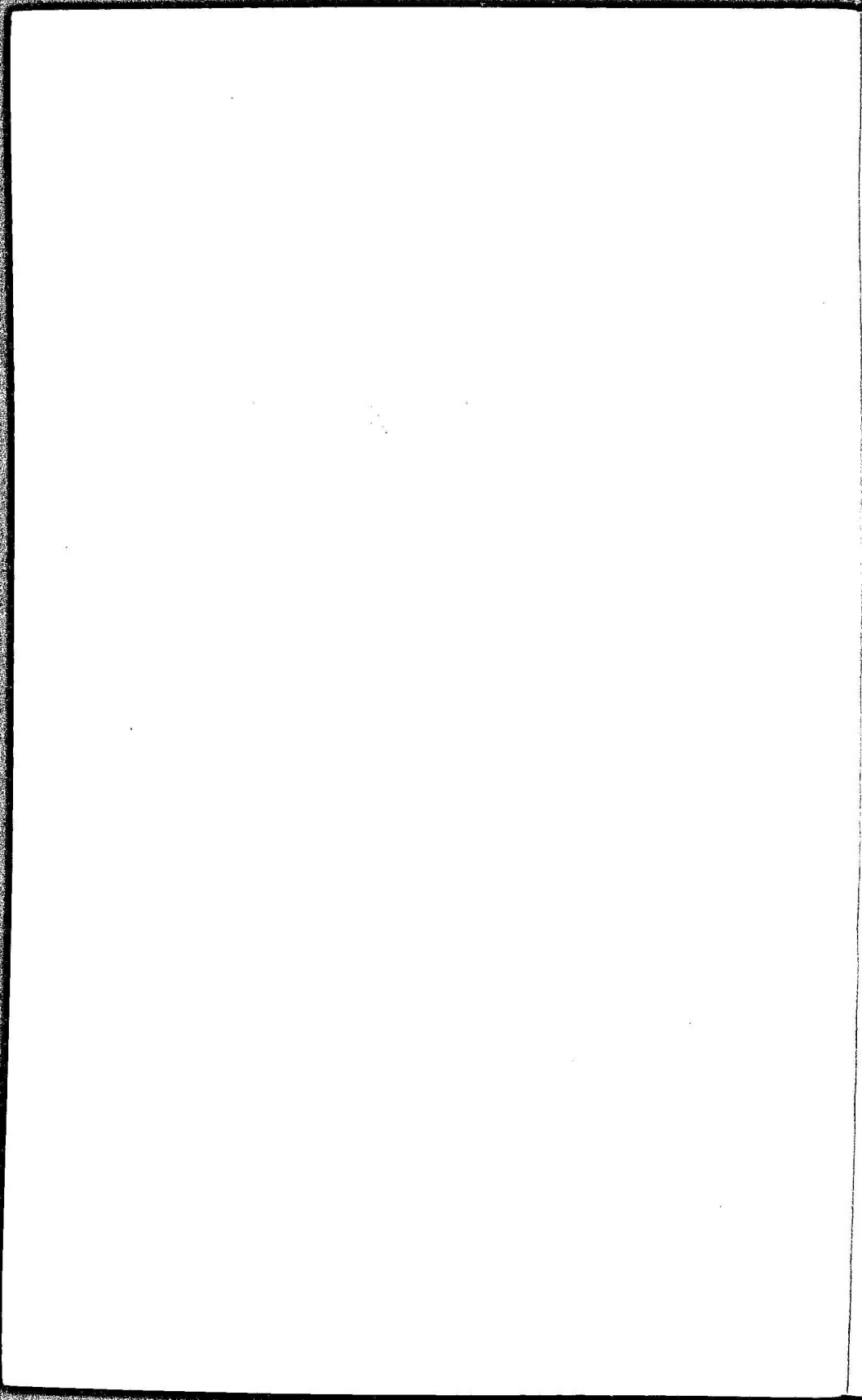
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Río Bravo



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of Research and Issues
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Río Bravo

A Journal of Research and Issues

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Minutes of the Río Bravo Association Meeting

Date : April 9, 1994

Location : Texas A&M University, Kingsville, Texas

Announcements: Chad Richardson/Victor Zuñiga, co-presidents.

1. Thanks were expressed to Ward Albro for hosting the annual Río Bravo Association conference and doing such an outstanding job.
2. Next years conference will be held in Tampico and will be co-sponsored by Universidad Valle del Bravo and the University of Texas-San Antonio.
3. Report on the Río Bravo Journal by Roberto Salmón and call for papers.

Business:

1. Victor Zúñiga discussed (a) the option of seeking membership from the state of New Mexico and, if included, the need to change the Río Bravo logo; (b) ways to increase membership; (c) administration of funds: voted on by membership. It was decided to explore interest by other states prior to making the proposed change. The membership supported a drive to increase institutional membership, which includes three individuals per institution. It was agreed that Río Bravo Journal funds would be administered through the Río Bravo Association and would be the responsibility of the treasurer and the secretary of the Río Bravo Association. It was further decided that the site of the Río Bravo Journal would be UTPA and the Universidad de Monterrey.
2. Chad Richardson discussed need to seek funds to initiate research and joint binational activities. Chad also requested help to fill the Council Advisory Committee which has a total of 16 members (8 from U.S. and 8 from Mexico). Chad

2-Introduction/Introducción

nominated Kelly Ainsworth for the position of Vice President of the Río Bravo Association. A vote was held by the membership present and Kelly Ainsworth was unanimously elected. It was also agreed that in two years the Río Bravo Annual Conference would be held in San Antonio.

3. Robert Gibbons, Deputy Public Affairs Office, USIS, announced the U.S. Speakers Program and called for names of those interested in participating.

Invited Address by: Bill Franklin

Title: The Accreditation Model: A Means of Addressing Barriers to International Academic Mobility.

Discussed the essentials of an Accreditation Model: (1) points of agreement, (2) self-analysis, (3) peer review process and evaluation. Also reviewed in his address to the membership were "Structural Impediments" which include: (1) academic term, (2) units of study, (3) degree requirements, (4) professional accreditation, (5) admission requirements, (6) procedural impediments, etc.

Respectfully submitted,
Israel Cuellar
Secretary (U.S.)
Río Bravo Association

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act Of 1934—And The Development Of Economic Policy Toward Mexico

Raquel Aviña Hunter*

Resumen

En 1942 el presidente Roosevelt negoció un convenio de comercio libre con México, autorizado por el "Reciprocal Trade Agreement de 1934." Así, NAFTA no es la primera tentativa con la idea de comercio libre entre los dos países.

*Raquel Aviña Hunter is specializing in International Law, College of Law, UCLA and is co-editor of the UCLA Law School Newspaper.

I. Introduction

Following a 1990 request by Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari for a free trade agreement, Canada, Mexico and the United States announced on February 5, 1991 that they would negotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Salinas' request reversed a history of economic nationalism for Mexico and opened the door to the economic integration of the Western Hemisphere. Pursuit of free trade, however, is not an unprecedented occurrence in the foreign policy of the United States. In 1942, as authorized by the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934, President Franklin D. Roosevelt negotiated a trade agreement with Mexico. This agreement served as an important plank in American foreign economic policy towards Mexico in the war-time years of the 1940's.

Other legislation and agreements supplemented the trade agreement, creating the basis of United States economic relations with Mexico at that time. Historians have examined the history of foreign policy during this period, with war-time diplomacy receiving most of the analysis. In contrast, the policymaking process itself has

received little attention from historians, and the development of foreign policy towards Latin America and Mexico has received even less. Congress' role in the passage and extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and the subsequent impact on the development of Roosevelt's economic policy towards Mexico makes historical examination of the development of foreign economic policy especially relevant.

Constitutionally, the responsibility of foreign policy lies with the Executive branch and is usually viewed as being largely within the control of the president.¹ However, the Trade Agreements Act of 1934 caused the development of foreign economic policy to be influenced by Congressional issues of regionalism and partisan politics and by power struggles between the executive and legislative branches.

In addition to Congressional influences on the development of foreign economic policy, World War II contributed an important dimension to Roosevelt's foreign policy agenda, his Latin American policy, and his economic policy towards Mexico. Consternation over the occurrence of two world wars in a short period of time shaped the Administration's policy statements. The war-time need for high productivity and decreased reliance upon European markets also contributed to the development of Roosevelt's foreign economic policy towards Mexico by increasing the need for strong political and economic ties.

Three themes of foreign policy appeared repeatedly in the Roosevelt administration's statements concerning general foreign policy, Latin American policy, and policy towards Mexico. These themes included: (1) a desire to avoid repeating the mistakes made in the inter-war period and leading to a second World War; (2) the belief that world prosperity would create world peace; and (3) the necessity of international cooperation for the achievement of these goals. Roosevelt articulated these themes when issuing general foreign statements and foreign economic policy statements, and when making speeches concerning the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and about Latin American policy. These themes were also visible, in various degrees, in the legislation constituting the basis of American economic policy towards Mexico.

Relatively few historical studies have been written about

United States relations with Mexico. Some of the more prominent works have presented valuable chronologies of events, explanations of how the two nations responded to each other's diplomatic acts, and analyses of why the United States/Mexico relations have developed as they have. For example, James Morton Callahan's *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations* (New York: Macmillan, 1932) provided a comprehensive study of United States policy through an examination of government documents, newspaper articles, and other sources. The work, limited to the period 1824 to 1931, focused on the actions of the United States and subsequent reactions of Mexico.

Karl M. Schmitt's more recent book *Mexico and the United States, 1821-1973: Conflict and Coexistence* (New York: Wiley, 1974) also focused upon the interaction between the two countries, portraying the United States as a domineering, opportunistic nation and Mexico as a vulnerable, less powerful one. The end result of this imbalance has been, Schmitt argued, American economic and political intervention in Mexico's affairs.

In *The United States and Mexico*, authors Josefina Zoraida Vázquez and Lorenzo Meyer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985) presented the history of relations between the two nations from the perspective of Mexico. Covering the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the work emphasized the unequal power relations and Mexico's dependency upon the United States.

The major historical studies of the relations between the United States and Mexico have tended to examine the nineteenth and/or twentieth century as a whole, and focused upon the diplomatic interactions of the two nations. Although references were made to the role that Congress played in foreign policy, none of the works carefully examined the development of foreign economic policy towards Mexico during the early 1940's. While the history of relations between the two nations has been placed within the context of world events, none of the works specifically studied the impact general foreign policy had upon the development of economic policy towards Mexico. A thematic examination of general foreign policy statements, Latin American policy statements, and legislation and agreements that made up the actual economic policy towards Mexico reveals an ideological coherency that is otherwise not readily visible.

II. General Foreign Economic Policy

Every administration develops a foreign policy agenda and conveys it to the public through speeches by the President and members of his administration. From 1940 to 1945 the foreign policy espoused by Roosevelt displayed several dominant themes. These themes, intricately linked to the foreign economic policy agenda, focused on the most important issue of the period—World War II.²

Contending that mistakes made after World War I had led to World War II, the Administration advocated an examination of the inter-war period to avoid a repetition after World War II. The belief that economic and political isolationism had been a mistake dominated many of the Administration's foreign policy statements. The Administration wanted international efforts to develop a plan to create a durable peace and to discourage political and economic isolationism. For example, Assistant Secretary of State Adolf A. Berle Jr., compared the end of World War I with the approaching conclusion of World War II. Having noted similarities between the two periods, he suggested that a dissimilarity also existed: Rather than waiting until after the war, active discussions had begun concerning the means of achieving lasting peace.³

In a similar reference to the past, Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius Jr. observed: "After two world wars and a terrible worldwide depression, all within the space of twenty-five years, we are convinced that political isolationism and economic nationalism are utterly unrealistic and can only lead on to complete disaster for our country and for the world."⁴ And when discussing the Atlantic Charter, Raymond H. Geist of the State Department noted that past experiences had demonstrated that "no nation could prosper in isolation, or at the expense of others."⁵ To discourage the repetition of past mistakes, the Administration focused upon the issue of economic isolationism in policy statements.

In a speech before the House Ways and Means Committee, Secretary of State Cordell Hull noted that following World War I, the United States had led other nations down the path of "destructive protectionism." He cautioned against a repeat of such faulty policies.⁶ President Roosevelt reiterated warnings against "the malignant effects of economic isolationism" in a Message to the Congress concerning the nation's budget.⁷ Such actions, the Administration

contended, had resulted in conflicts between nations, had created economic chaos, led to the depression, and resulted in World War II.⁸ Not only should isolationism be avoided, the Administration considered it impracticable, for, as Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long noted, economic interdependence could no longer be questioned. It was, rather, "a well substantiated fact."⁹ Thus, the Administration emphasized the theme of the harm caused by prior isolationism to justify the pursuit of economic openness and international cooperation.

In a second principle theme of foreign policy, Franklin Roosevelt linked the existence of world peace with the creation of world prosperity. The Administration based its policy objective upon the belief that prosperity would occur through the opening and expansion of world trade. Since the last attempt at economic isolationism had destroyed international trade and resulted in war,¹⁰ it appeared logical that the avoidance of economic isolationism and the expansion of world trade could only lead to prosperity and peace. In one statement, Harry C. Hawkins, Director of the Office of Economic Affairs of the Department of State, explicitly joined the removal of trade barriers to the issue of peace. "The major problem of foreign policy for the post-war world will be to prevent the recurrence of war; to kill the evil parent of the brood of troubles that beset mankind.... Indeed, the trade barrier problem may well be one of the rocks on which the post-war peace effort might founder."¹¹ Secretary Hull noted: "Unless a system of open trade becomes firmly established, there will be chronic political instability and recurrent economic collapse. There will never be peace in any real sense of the term."¹²

Having linked the foreign policy problem of peace to an economic solution, the Administration made economic policy a major focus of foreign policy, rather than a minor sub-category. FDR stated this explicitly when he observed that liberal economic policies would be the dominant purpose of the foreign policy of the United States at that time and for the post-war era.¹³ And in an address, Secretary Hull outlined the specifics of a "liberal economic policy." The first goal was non-discriminatory trade practices, especially in the area of raw materials. The second goal was the establishment of international financial institutions to lend aid to developing countries.¹⁴ Thus, the

opening of trade and the goal of economic aid to other nations became an important part of the foreign policy agenda.

In addition to a liberal economic policy to prevent political and economic isolationism so as to encourage world prosperity and peace, Roosevelt also espoused the theme of international cooperation in political and economic endeavors. Cooperative endeavors entailed international organizations designed to encourage the peaceful resolution of controversies. A central focus of these organizations included economic cooperation and interaction. The Administration strongly advocated American participation in these organizations as necessary for the maintenance of prosperity and peace. FDR's advocacy of cooperative endeavors can be seen in his endorsement of The Atlantic Charter, the Bretton Woods conference, and the Dumbarton Oaks conference leading to the establishment of the United Nations.

TABLE 1

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CHARTERS ADVOCATED BY THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION		
DATE	ORGANIZATION/ CHARTER	PURPOSE
1941	ATLANTIC CHARTER	U.S. and Great Britain issued Charter agreeing to work for, among other things, international economic cooperation and freer trade.
1942	DECLARATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS	Twenty-six nations endorsed the principles of the Atlantic Charter.
1944	U.N. CONFERENCE BRETTON WOODS	U.N. established International Monetary Fund (to stabilize international exchange rate and facilitate international trade and employment) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (to promote trade through assistance in development of production facilities, especially in underdeveloped nations) to facilitate developmental aims.
1944	U.N. CONFERENCE DUMBARTON OAKS	Resulted in an agreement to create an International organization for the preservation of peace (U.N.).

In a message to the National Foreign Trade Council Convention, Roosevelt called for the maintenance of the democratic principles of free trade and avoidance of protectionist policies.¹⁵ And Sumner Welles, the Under Secretary of State, linked free trade and international cooperation when he stated that the "Government is determined to move towards the creation of conditions under which...destructive trade warfare shall be replaced by cooperation for the welfare of all nations."¹⁶ William A. Fowler, Department of State, echoed this intent: "Our goal should be the establishment of an international trade policy which is an integral part of the whole system of international economic and security relationships towards which we and other like-minded nations are now working."¹⁷ Secretary Stettinius explained the underlying motivation for cooperation when he noted: "Our foreign policy is based upon the hard facts that if we are to prevent the disaster of another war for the United States we must find the means to act effectively with other nations to prevent aggression anywhere in the world. We cannot have prosperity in the United States if the rest of the world is sunk in depression and poverty."¹⁸

In advocating involvement in organizations for international cooperation, the Administration argued that trade warfare, caused by protectionism, needed to be abandoned in order for there to be world wide prosperity and peace. Trade warfare could only be ended through international economic cooperation. Thus, once again, the common themes of the Administration appeared—avoiding past mistakes (protectionism) necessitated international cooperation in order for there to be world prosperity and peace.

In addition to the international agencies specifically designed for international cooperation, the United States also unilaterally established the Export-Import Bank and implemented the Lend-Lease Act. Both pieces of legislation constituted a form of economic aid, and therefore contributed to the foreign policy agenda of the United States.

Roosevelt created the Export-Import Bank on February 2, 1934, with Executive Order #7365, in order to finance trade with the recently recognized Soviet Government. In January of 1935, Congress recognized the Bank with a Public Law, extending it in 1937, and again in 1940.¹⁹ Operating in collaboration with private Ameri-

can banks, manufacturers, exporters and engineering firms, the Bank financed the export of agricultural products, machinery and other goods, the reconstruction of plants and transportation systems, and the expansion of trade. Viewed as a supplement to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the government considered the Export-Import Bank to be the ideal means of extending financial aid to foreign governments.²⁰

Faced with fiscal shortages, allied countries needed means of financing their war efforts. The Lend-Lease Act, approved by Congress in March of 1941, provided American allies with the opportunity to "borrow or lease" American arms. The Administration contended, however, that the act was more than simply a means of winning the war. Considering it crucial to the foreign policy goal of international economic cooperation, they referred to the Act as a "Declaration of Interdependence."²¹ Thus, in fulfilling the foreign policy objective of economic aid, the Administration also addressed the issue of interdependence and international cooperation.

The Administration espoused an agenda based upon basic issues and assumptions, as demonstrated by foreign policy statements made during the war. In the midst of World War II, Roosevelt spoke of the prevention of a third world war and gave great attention to the issue of past mistakes causing the second war. Noting that previous economic and political isolationism, epitomized by trade protectionism, had led to war, he argued that the converse, the opening of trade through economic and political cooperation, could only lead to peace. Through the Atlantic Charter, involvement in United Nations conferences at Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks, and through American initiatives of the Export-Import Bank and the Lend-Lease Act, the United States sought to implement the policy of international cooperation for the maintenance of peace.

III. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

Although the President set forth a clear foreign policy agenda, Congressional concerns limited the goals of the Administration. The Administration sought to achieve free trade through the renewal of the 1934 Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Congressmen, however, perceived free trade as controversial because of the potential harm caused by trade competition and because of the extraordinary powers

the act gave the President. Negotiation of Presidential and Congressional interests significantly influenced the passage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, placing undesired limitations on Roosevelt's freedom to act in the international arena.

President Roosevelt signed the first Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act on June 12, 1934. Three years later, in 1937, Congress extended it for three years. In 1940, following lengthy Congressional debate, Congress again renewed the act for three years. Similar debates surrounded the 1943 Congressional hearings, and Congress renewed the act again. This time, however, Congress limited the extension to two years. And in 1945, despite opposition, President Truman signed the renewal of the Act, with the authority to reduce tariffs 50% below the then current levels.²²

Table 2

RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS ACTS		
DATE OF ACT	# YEARS EXTENDED	BILL #/ LAW #
June 12, 1934	3	H.Res. 8687/ Public Law 316
June 12, 1940	3	H. Res. 407/ Public Law 407
June 7, 1943	2	H. J. Res. 111/ Public Law 66
July 5, 1945	3	H. Res. 3240/ Public Law 130

The 1934 Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, intended for the expansion of world markets for the United States, gave the President the authority to change duties, tariffs and other import restrictions, and to enter into trade agreements with foreign countries. The Act gave the president the authority to negotiate treaties and waived the requirement of Senate approval. Between 1934 and February 1943, the U. S. signed twenty-six agreements with foreign countries.²³ By 1945, the country signed six more agreements.²⁴

When arguing for the passage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act extension, the Administration again pointed to the protectionism after World War I and the occurrence of World War II as

evidence that protectionism could only lead to war. Secretary of State Cordell Hull noted that if the United States refused to import, so too would other countries: "And there is nothing more certain in international trade relations than a vicious cycle of retaliation and counter-retaliation, once any country is short sighted enough to start the process. The bitter experience following the World War bears witness to this."²⁵ Arguing that a failure to extend the Act would be tantamount to repeating the process leading to protectionism, Hull noted that during the 1920's, when the Hawley-Smoot tariff closed American borders to other countries' exports, a huge volume of international loans provided foreign nations with the capital to purchase American goods, thus obscuring the consequences of protectionism. However, the impact became clear when the world suffered a substantial economic collapse, and sank into a depression in 1929.²⁶ The Administration believed that the United States could not hope to finance, and should not attempt to finance, the trade of foreign nations in the same way again.

Contending that protectionism had caused the high unemployment of the 1920's, the Administration argued that freer trade actually created rather than eliminated jobs. If the U. S. did not allow foreign goods to be imported into the country, other nations would lack the capital to purchase American exports, decreasing the need for domestic production, and ultimately causing unemployment in the United States.²⁷ The Administration contended that the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act needed to be extended in order to protect and create American jobs.²⁸

The Administration, believing that a peaceful world could exist only with a solid economic foundation, argued that the passage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was essential to prosperity and world peace.²⁹ Referring to the Act, Secretary Cordell Hull stated: "Only if these principles prevail in economic relations among nations will it be possible to create a firm foundation for stable peace and for satisfactory economic progress. If the opposite tendencies...so ominously spreading today, should come to be widely dominant, mankind will be plunged into a period of chaos and impoverishment."³⁰ Elaborating on the link between political and economic structures for peace, he concluded that if the United States made only one sided agreements and not mutually beneficial ones, the conse-

quences would ultimately be economically and politically disastrous for everyone.³¹ In a message to Congress, President Roosevelt called the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act essential to the general role of the United States in bringing about a peaceful world.³²

In urging the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the Administration continued a theme of their general foreign policy agenda by calling the Act a "form of international cooperation."³³ The Act required that nations which entered into agreements with the United States offer benefits equal to those received. The reciprocal nature of the trade agreements program served as a force to replace trade warfare with cooperative interaction between nations, creating a durable peace structure.³⁴ In one speech, Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson suggested that the Act merely served as part of the comprehensive program for international cooperation.³⁵ In a slightly different approach to the same idea, the Administration claimed that an extension of the Act would serve as an indicator to other nations of American willingness to cooperate internationally for world peace. This would cause other nations to follow the American lead.³⁶ William Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State, referred to this idea when testifying during Congressional hearings. He said that if the Act failed to be renewed, indicating an American disinclination for international economic cooperation, international political cooperation would also subsequently diminish.³⁷ Thus, the Administration attempted to garner support for the policy agenda and for the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act with the suggestion that if the U. S. failed to engage in and support international economic cooperation, other nations would also. As suggested in other policy statements, a failure to cooperate economically would lead to protectionism and ultimately another war.

The Administration rebutted arguments of members of Congress who opposed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Congressional opposition included the following arguments: (1) the Act hurt constituents in particular states; (2) the Most-Favored-Nation clause gave away "something for nothing" to foreign nations; and (3) the Act gave the executive too much power without Congressional oversight. President Roosevelt responded by arguing: (1) that the Congressmen needed to consider national interests over their regional interests; 2) that the Congressmen misunderstood how the Most-Favored-Nation

clause worked because it actually served the national interest; (3) that the Act provided extensive opportunities for Congressional and constituent input; and (4) that foreign policy strategy needs the President to have the power to negotiate treaties without fear that the Senate would later reject them.

In the hearings for extensions of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, Congressmen testified about harmful affects of the agreements to their constituents. For example, Representative Daniel Reed, Republican from New York, testified that concessions in the Canadian agreement had hurt the dairy farmers in his district, while the agreement with Venezuela had hurt the oil producers. Similarly, Representative Frank Crowther, also a Republican from New York, informed the committee that the French, Czechoslovakian, and United Kingdom agreements had harmed his district's glove industry.³⁸

FDR's administration responded to the constituent harm argument in two ways. First, they asserted that the agreements helped rather than harmed U.S. citizens by providing foreign markets, more job opportunities, and ultimately a more prosperous economy. Contending that trade had to be a two way street, the Administration believed that if the United States shut their doors to other countries' exports, then foreign nations would reciprocate.³⁹ With the loss of foreign markets, and with only domestic demand to be met, domestic production would surpass demand, driving prices downward and forcing producers out of business.⁴⁰ Secretary Hull wrote, in a letter to Robert L. Doughton, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, that with foreign markets strengthening the domestic economy, the domestic markets would flourish because of greater domestic consumption.⁴¹

In addition to arguing that the Act helped domestic producers and created employment and a flourishing economy, the Administration attempted to convince opposition congressmen that long term national interest needed to be considered over the short term regional interests. Pointing out that in the economic field there existed a danger that special business interests would attempt to further their own interests at the expense of others,⁴² the Administration called upon the legislature to work closely with the executive to best serve the interests of the entire nation.⁴³ Secretary Hull declared that the government had approached the trade agreements program as objec-

tively as possible, carefully balancing the interests of different lines of production with the interests of the nation as a whole.⁴⁴ He said that the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was essential to both the immediate and long term interests of the country.⁴⁵ Charles P. Taft, Director of the Office of Transport and Communications Policy of the Department of State, observed that the President, the Department of State, and all of the executive departments, worked for the people as a whole—not simply for one congressional district. While occasionally damage may have been experienced by a few, he said, the Administration tried to reconcile the interests of as many people as possible.⁴⁶ In a message to the Congress, Roosevelt called for Congressmen to allow the national interest to override sectional and special interests: "We must all come to see that what is good for the United States is good for each of us, in economic affairs just as much as in any other."⁴⁷ The Administration acknowledged that some constituent harm may have occurred as a result of the agreements, it occurred only when impossible to avoid, and that the larger concern was the national interest over short term regional interests.

The Most-Favored-Nation clause of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act also served as a catalyst for controversy in Congress. Under one clause, countries with non-discriminatory trade policies towards the United States could receive the same benefits as agreement countries did, without actually having to enter into an agreement. Many Congressmen opposed this clause of the Act because they believed that some nations could receive benefits of liberalized trade without having to reciprocate. The Administration responded to this objection by pointing out that in fact, nations did not *receive* benefits without *reciprocating*, because only those nations who practiced non-discriminatory trade with the United States received the more liberal trade benefits. If a nation imposed embargoes, tariffs, quotas, or other limitations on American imports, the clause was not applicable to that nation.⁴⁸ This clause, therefore, enhanced liberal trade relations with other nations without requiring the negotiation of a trade treaty, thus expanding foreign markets even more.⁴⁹

Congressmen also opposed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act claiming that it gave the President and his administration unconstitutional powers to negotiate treaties without legislative approval. For example, Senator Charles McNary, Republican from Oregon,

suggested that failing to allow Congress to accept or reject any treaty negotiated by the Administration was "distinctly undemocratic" and prohibited Congress from expressing the will of the people.⁵⁰ Senator Patrick McCarran, Democrat from Nevada, called the delegation of congressional authority to the Executive a "danger to the preservation of democratic institutions."⁵¹ And, a Minority Report of the House Ways and Means Committee charged that the entire New Deal had been characterized by a centralization of power in the Executive branch. Amending the act to require Congressional approval offered an opportunity for the reclamation of authority.⁵²

The Administration responded to this concern with two arguments. First, the nature of foreign policy required that the President be able to negotiate treaties with foreign countries with the assurance that Congress would not later reject them. Second, the Act provided for a great deal of legislative input through the required hearings and the necessary consultation with various government departments.

Assistant Secretary of State Berle noted that at the time the founders constitutionally required Senate approval of treaties, the U. S. did not take the initiative in foreign policy. As a small isolationist nation, the United States simply considered the proposals of other nations, thus making Congressional approval a feasible requirement. However, with the nation's growth into a world power, the need for Congressional approval hindered the negotiating process. He observed that at times it was crucial for the Executive to negotiate with foreign nations knowing that any agreement would not be subject to future rejection.⁵³ Such a possibility greatly weakened the negotiating power of the Executive. When the Administration presented this argument, it referred frequently to the dismal history of Congressional approval of treaties.

Table 3

HISTORY OF TREATIES				
#Treaties negotiated	#Passed by Senate	#Rejected	#For.Gov. Rejected	#Withdrawn
25	3	17*	1**	3

* In addition to the 17 rejected by the Senate, 1 failed to receive Congressional legislation necessary to place it in effect.

** Due to Amendments made to the Treaty by the Senate.

The history of Congressional approval of treaties negotiated, when compared with the number of treaties implemented when legislation allowed the President to negotiate without approval, clearly suggested that the Administration's chances of implementing a negotiated treaty would be diminished by a requirement of legislative approval.

Table 4

EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS NEGOTIATED WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL ⁵⁴	
#Negotiated	Act Which Gave Authority
12	McKinley Tariff Act of 1890
15	Dingley Tariff Act of 1897
30	Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934
57	TOTAL

While arguing that the Executive branch needed the treaty negotiating power allocated by the Trade Agreements Act, the Administration simultaneously observed that the Act strictly limited the authority of the President and provided Congress with oversight powers. As the Secretary of State explained to the Senate Finance Committee, Congress had the right at any time to terminate any, or all, of the authority entrusted to the Executive for negotiating agreements.⁵⁵ He also pointed out that Congress played an active role in the treaty negotiations process through the hearings that preceded the negotiations.⁵⁶ The Act required that prior to treaty mediations, public notice be given of the intended negotiations, certain agencies be consulted, and hearings be held so that Congressmen and members of the public could testify about potential benefits or harm that would result from the agreement.⁵⁷ The Administration argued that the democratic procedure of hearings protected the welfare of those who

would be affected by any treaty negotiations,⁵⁸ thus ensuring that Congressmen and Senators had the opportunity and means of representing their constituents.

Congressional influence on foreign policy was also apparent in the form of partisan politics. An examination of the voting records of the House and Senate reveal a partisan voting pattern in two of the three extensions of the Act. (See Table 5) For the first extension of the bill, in April of 1940, Democrats constituted 54% of the vote in favor of the bill. Republicans, however, made up only 2% of those in favor. Of those voting against the bill, 36% were Republicans and only 8% were Democrats. In the second renewal of the Act, in June of 1945, the vote was less markedly partisan, and decidedly in favor. Of the 82% favoring renewal, 50% were Democrats and 32% were Republicans. Only 13% of the Republicans and 4% of the Democrats opposed. Strong support for the Act may be because during war time, the President's agenda is usually supported from a desire by the nation and Congress to aid the war effort. However, by the third renewal of the bill, in July of 1945, partisan voting reappeared. Of the 62% who favored the bill, 52% were Democrats and only 10% were Republicans. Of those voting against the Act, 32% were Republicans and 5% were Democrats.⁵⁹

Table 5

CONGRESSIONAL VOTING RECORD FOR THE RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS ACT ⁶⁰									
		In Favor of Bill				Against Bill			
Bill#		Dem.	Rep.	Other	Total	Dem.	Rep.	Other	Total
H.J.	House	210	5	1	216	20	146	2	168
Res.	Senate	38	3	1	42	15	21	1	37
407	Total	248	8	2	258	35	167	3	205
H.J.	House	200	140	2	342	11	51	1	63
Res.	Senate	41	18	0	59	7	14	1	22
111	Total	241	155	2	401	18	65	2	85
H.J.	House	204	34	1	239	16	134	2	152
Res.	Senate	39	14	1	54	5	16	0	21
3240	Total	243	48	2	293	21	150	2	173

Congress' role in the passage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements forced President Roosevelt to consider Congressional opposition. Limitations placed by Congress and the power to discontinue the Act at any time inhibited his ability to pursue the policy he believed to be in the nation's interest. Thus, during the 1940's, foreign economic policy did not evolve simply from the Administration's analysis of issues and interests of the United States in its relations with other nations. Rather, the development of foreign policy involved other dynamics, including, but not limited to power struggles, partisanship, and regionalism.⁶¹

Examining foreign policy and foreign economic policy reveals that the Administration stressed themes of avoiding the mistakes of the past, of promoting international cooperation, and of opening trade as a means of creating prosperity and, through it, peace. These themes also filtered into the Administration's politicking for the passage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act—legislation central to the foreign policy agenda of the Administration. A brief and general examination of the debate over the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act highlights the impact that partisanship had on the passage of the Act, and ultimately on the President's ability to carry out his foreign policy.

IV. Latin American Policy

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, coupled with the fundamental principles of President Roosevelt's foreign policy, shaped American policy toward Latin America. Authorized by the Trade Agreements Act, the President negotiated trade agreements with individual Latin American countries. In advocating the negotiation of the agreements, and other aspects of his Latin American policy, FDR utilized themes similar to those of his overall foreign policy.

During the war, the United States and Latin America developed an economic interdependence that both expected to continue after the war. In order to carry out war-time production, the United States had an increased need for raw materials. At the same time, both the U. S. and Latin America suffered from war-time disruption of trade with the European markets.⁶² This increased the need for close political and economic ties.

The Administration believed that previous relations with

Latin American nations no longer worked in the changing political and economic climate. Pierre De L. Boal of the Office of American Republic Affairs of the State Department noted that in the past, American indifference to Latin American relations had fostered economic and political instability and could potentially do so again in the future. He cautioned that Latin America would face economic collapse if the United States abruptly halted economic cooperation after World War II, as it had after World War I.⁶³ Expressing similar concern for the stability of Latin America, Avra Warren of the Department of State noted that in 1933, in the midst of the depression, eighteen of twenty American republics had experienced revolutions.⁶⁴ This was evidence that political stability was directly linked to economic stability. The Administration wanted to play a more active role in achieving mutually beneficial relations between the U. S. and other American nations, not only for the promotion of the national economic interest, but also because the prosperity of Latin America was believed to be linked directly to the maintenance of peace in the Western Hemisphere.

The firmly held belief about the economic and political interdependence of the American nations⁶⁵ served as the Administration's central reason for the establishment of stable inter-American relations through cooperation. The U. S. became actively involved in various organizations the American nations created for the purpose of economic, political, and military cooperation. Considering the Good Neighbor Policy the basis of cooperation among the American republics,⁶⁶ the Administration utilized it to advocate the United States' reciprocity treaties, various forms of economic aid, the Export-Import Bank, and the Inter-American organizations.⁶⁷

Thus the central themes of the Administration's Latin American policy took a form similar to general foreign and foreign economic policy. If the United States wanted to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past (ignoring Latin America's interests or furthering the U.S.'s at the expense of Latin America), then it had to establish and maintain mutually beneficial economic and political relations. Economic stability and prosperity could be linked to the maintenance of peace, and therefore it was in the interest of the United States to encourage Latin American prosperity. The achievement of these

goals required cooperative efforts among the American nations, through inter-American organizations.

Inter-American organizations, offices, and committees established either by the U. S. or with the cooperation of the U. S., coordinated the cooperative activities of the American Republics. A list of purposes reveals that the principle goals of these organizations included the promotion of economic stability and industrialization, and improved trade relations.⁶⁸

Table 6

INTER-AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS⁶⁹

NAME	PURPOSE
Inter-American Financial & Economic Advisory Committee	To promote economic stability of American Republics; to promote industrialization, Agricultural and commerce.
Inter-American Development Commission	To increase Latin American exports to the U.S.; to stimulate trade in the hemisphere; to promote industry in Latin America.
Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics	To coordinate hemispheric defense with respect to commercial and cultural aspects.
Committee for Coordination of Inter-American shipping	To coordinate shipping and the military branches of government.
Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs	To promote commercial and cultural relations between the American Republics.
Committee on Inter-American Affairs	To coordinate proposals for commercial, cultural, educational, and scientific aspects of hemispheric defense.
American Hemisphere Exports Office	To administer the Export Control Act in relation to the hemisphere.

In addition to the organizations listed in Table 6, President Roosevelt also advocated involvement in the Inter-American Bank as part of his Latin American policy. Eight nations (United States, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua,

Paraguay, and Brazil) signed the convention for the establishment of the Inter-American Bank. Believing that trade flourished when countries were industrially advanced, the nations established the Bank to finance the development of less industrialized countries.⁷⁰ When asking the Senate to ratify the convention, Roosevelt expressed his belief that the Bank would be "a step of major importance in the development of inter-American financial and economic cooperation and the economic implementation of the Good Neighbor Policy."⁷¹ He viewed United States involvement in the inter-American organizations as crucial to the larger themes of the general policy toward Latin America and to the provision of economic substance of the policy.

The trade agreements negotiated with various Latin American countries also served to expand the economic interaction of the American republics. These agreements furthered the goals and principles laid out by Secretary of State Cordell Hull—the development of Latin American resources, the financing of industrialization, the promotion of agricultural diversification, and the expansion of transportation facilities.⁷² The increased trade resulting from the agreements provided the resources necessary to achieve the objectives. As Paul V. McNutt, the Federal Security Administrator, noted, the trade treaties served as "an insurance of peaceful and prosperous economic life in the Western Hemisphere...laying the groundwork for permanent relations with our southern neighbors."⁷³ The agreements, the Administration argued, substituted economic cooperation for economic warfare, promoted international economic relations for the creation of a durable peace structure, and gave economic substance to the Good-Neighbor policy.⁷⁴ Thus, the general themes used in presenting foreign policy goals and in advocating the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act visibly existed in the Administration's promotion of trade agreements with Latin America.

In addition to the Inter-American organizations and the trade agreements, the Export-Import Bank played an important role by providing additional fiscal capabilities for Roosevelt's political objectives. Though similar to the Inter-American Bank in many aspects, the Export-Import Bank differed in that the U. S. Government had sole authority over it. Although established in 1935 to finance trade with the Soviet Union, in 1940 the Export-Import Bank directed its focus

towards American republics. The Administration believed this would put them in position to "expand cooperative efforts with other American nations in the fields of long term development and monetary and exchange matters."⁷⁵ Congress allocated money to the Export-Import Bank specifically for the development of resources and trade in the Western Hemisphere⁷⁶ and the stabilization of economies.⁷⁷ The Bank underwrote the financing of such projects as the rehabilitation of Brazilian railroads, the development of a steel plant in Mexico, and the development of the mining of strategic metals in Latin American countries.⁷⁸

Thus, the general themes of American foreign policy—the avoidance of war, the creation of prosperity, and efforts for international cooperation, contributed to the development of the United States' foreign policy towards Latin America. To achieve these goals, FDR's administration advocated the opening of trade through trade agreements, involvement in Inter-American organizations, and the promotion of hemispheric prosperity through foreign aid.

V. Mexico

United States economic policy towards Mexico, a product of the principle themes of general United States foreign policy and policy towards Latin America, can be studied by examining the legislation passed and agreements signed by the two countries. The Lend-Lease agreements, an agreement for the rehabilitation of Mexico's railroads, the Reciprocal Trade Agreement, and the Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation constituted the essence of American economic policy toward Mexico. The principle themes of Roosevelt's foreign policy are evident in several agreements with Mexico.

Prior to the 1940's the relations between the United States and Mexico had been strained because of turmoil in Mexico and the expropriation of American oil properties and American owned land and railroads. By November 1941, the two countries reached agreements for compensation for expropriated property.⁷⁹ The Administration noted that the settlement of these issues resolved the last obstacle to economic cooperation between the two nations.⁸⁰

With the onset of World War II, the U. S. and Mexico had a mutual need to trade with each other due to the loss of European

markets. The United States, in particular, needed raw materials for war production and Mexico's proximity made her an ideal trading partner. In an address encouraging cooperation between the two nations, Roosevelt referred to the Good-Neighbor policy and hemispheric interdependence that meant harm to one nation would mean harm to all nations in the hemisphere.⁸¹ Economic collaboration, however, entailed more than trade agreements. The United States recognized that the development of basic industries in Mexico would aid the United States war effort and therefore constituted an important goal. Further, antiquated transportation systems severely hindered the movement of goods from Mexico. Thus, development of Mexico's railroad system also became a priority for the U. S.⁸²

The Lend-Lease agreement reached by Mexico and the United States highlighted that common interests and the interdependence of the American nations required both economic and military cooperation. The preface of the agreement signed in March of 1942 acknowledged that the two nations recognized the desire to work for common economic welfare and related military interests.⁸³ The first three articles of the agreement addressed the most important aspects and demonstrated the philosophical basis of Roosevelt's foreign economic policy.

Article I provided for the transfer of military armaments and munitions valued at \$10,000,000. An escape clause allowed either nation to suspend the transfer of goods when they believed it no longer served their interests or those of the hemisphere.⁸⁴ The second article established that Mexico would pay 48% of the cost of the goods to be transferred and outlined a general payment schedule.⁸⁵ The third article highlighted the philosophical basis of the agreement. Recognizing that an enduring peace could not be attained without prosperity in other nations, the U. S. committed itself to cooperative efforts to alleviate any unbearable debt Mexico might incur as a result of the war, specifically through cooperative trade practices ensuring a fair and equitable exchange rate for Mexico.⁸⁶

In March of 1943, a second Lend-Lease Agreement replaced the first one between the United States and Mexico. The second agreement did not specify the amounts of armaments to be provided to Mexico, but armaments continued to be provided with Mexico agreeing to pay the full cost of the supplies. This second agreement

also subscribed to general foreign economic policy goals. Especially in Article VI, the two countries concurred with the general foreign policy aims of an enduring world peace, the promotion of "mutually advantageous economic relations" and world economic relations, and the Atlantic Charter's advocacy of freer international trade and economic cooperation.⁸⁷

Thus, both agreements reflected the principle themes of Roosevelt's general foreign policy. Having learned from the inter-war period, the United States sought in the first agreement to avoid the crippling effect of post-war debt by arranging to work with Mexico to avoid the impact of extreme debt. Believing that the economic well-being of other nations directly affected the maintenance of peace, the U. S. called for cooperative efforts to negotiate fair and profitable trade with Mexico. In the second agreement, the two countries continued the agreement to work for common economic welfare and for the promotion of freer trade and economic cooperation in order to insure a lasting peace.

In November 1942, following the signing of the first Lend-Lease Agreement, the United States and Mexico signed an agreement for the rehabilitation of Mexican national railways. Although less exemplary of the foreign policy agenda of the United States, the agreement did play a role in the economic agenda and should therefore be addressed as a part of the economic policy developed towards Mexico. Under the agreement, the U. S. agreed to bear the full cost of rehabilitating and maintaining the Mexican railroads used for the transportation of goods to the United States. This included the costs of labor, technology and materials, and the costs of the equipment used for the transportation of goods.⁸⁸ The United States agreed to this arrangement because of the extraordinary need for Mexican goods and raw materials for war time production and considered the arrangement an essential aspect of economic collaboration between the two nations.⁸⁹ The cooperative efforts between Mexico and the United States for the rehabilitation of the railroads were amended and scaled down in 1944, and finally abolished in June 1946 because the emergency conditions of war no longer existed.⁹⁰ However, the agreement clearly reflect Roosevelt's desires for economic cooperation and the improvement of trade relations.

The United States and Mexico signed a third economic agree-

ment, the Reciprocal Trade Agreement, on December 31, 1942. It became effective January 30, 1943.⁹¹ Designed to facilitate and expand trade both during and after the war, it would remain in effect for three years. After that period, it could be terminated by either country. If neither country gave notification of their intention to end the agreement, it would continue uninterrupted.⁹² The agreement provided for concessions by each country on a substantial portion of their trade. These concessions took the form of reduced customs duties, the binding of existing rates on some products, and assurances of non-discriminatory trade treatment.⁹³

Congressional involvement in the foreign policymaking process specifically influenced the negotiation of the trade agreement. The Administration negotiated the 1942 agreement with recognition of the pending renewal of the Trade Agreements Act in June of 1943. Realizing that Congressmen would demand protection of their constituents' perceived business and employment interests, Article XI of the agreement provided the means of withdrawing from, or modifying concessions, or imposing quotas when any injury was suffered by domestic producers. Not only did the clause provide the means, it required the President to take one of the remedial courses of action as needed.⁹⁴ In addition to this safeguard, the agreement contained a clause that enabled Mexico to terminate the entire agreement if the U. S. altered or withdrew any trade concessions.⁹⁵ Thus, Congressional control over the legislation influenced the terms of the trade agreement, forcing FDR to insert clauses to satisfy Congressional opposition.

On Cinco de Mayo, 1943, the United States and Mexico agreed upon the formation of a committee to examine economic relations between the two countries. It would determine the best means of encouraging Mexico's industrial development and economic stability through economic cooperation between the two nations.⁹⁶ The findings of the first Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation included recommendations that the United States aid Mexico in the development of agriculture, industrialization, and transportation facilities to enable her to contribute more fully to the U. S. war effort.⁹⁷ The second commission, established in September 1943, recommended the continuation of such efforts to assist Mexico in her post-war adjustment.⁹⁸ During the Commission's

existence, it approved fifty-eight development projects, almost half of them long term projects to be completed after the war.⁹⁹

The Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation epitomized Roosevelt's theme of international cooperation in order to encourage world prosperity and stability. In a joint statement, the Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Mexican Foreign Minister Ezequiel Padilla concluded: "In carrying forward this cooperative effort in the field of economic development, the two Governments will discourage trade barriers which may unduly interfere with the economic development of Mexico and trade between the two countries."¹⁰⁰

Through loans, the Export-Import Bank contributed economic substance to American economic policy towards Mexico. Between 1941 and December, 1945, the Bank authorized nearly \$94,000,000 to be loaned to Mexico, \$17,000,000 of which Mexico had accepted, and \$4,000,000 of which were repaid by 1945.¹⁰¹ The Export-Import Bank policy that loans could only be made if they promoted the trade of the United States,¹⁰² make the huge volume of loans given a significant aspect of the United States' economic policy towards Mexico.

The various agreements made between the United States and Mexico, the loans made, and the joint efforts to resolve economic issues reflected the general foreign policy of Roosevelt and his Administration. The themes of avoiding past mistakes and establishing friendly relations with Mexico, of promoting prosperity through industrialization and the development of Mexico's resources, and the cooperative efforts to address economic issues constituted the central goals of economic policy toward Mexico.

The policymaking process, however, constrained Roosevelt's freedom to make policy as he wished. Even in relations with Mexico, the Administration negotiated the trade agreement with full consideration of the fact that it would be carefully scrutinized in the pending renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

VI. Conclusion

An examination of economic policy towards Mexico placed in the context of the larger issues of foreign economic policy and Latin American policy reveals a thematic continuity in its development.

Roosevelt's economic policy toward Mexico reflected the themes that appeared in his general foreign policy agenda and in his Latin American policy. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, essential to portions of the policy, contributed visible Congressional influence upon the development of economic policy towards Mexico. Roosevelt's Mexico policy did not simply evolve from his perception of American interests. Rather, it resulted from a mixture of influences, including general foreign policy objectives, Latin American policy objectives, regionalism, partisan politics, and power struggles between the Executive and Legislative branches. Analysis of American foreign relations with Mexico with an emphasis upon the policymaking process provides insight that may not be visibly apparent in historical works, such as Karl Schmitt's and Vargas/Meyer's that chronicle and examine the history of relations purely from an interactive perspective.

In 1994, the Congressionally approved North American Free Trade Agreement between Canada, Mexico and the United States began the first stages of implementation. When the policymaking process surrounding the North American Free Trade Agreement which began in 1990 is compared with that of the 1940 Free Trade Agreement, the similarities are striking. The foreign policy goals during the 1990's are similar respects to those of the 1940's: to diminish protectionism and create international political and economic stability.¹⁰³ Like its predecessor, the current trade agreement was developed within the context of a broader Latin American policy agenda: that of encouraging a more prosperous and democratic Latin America¹⁰⁴ and, more specifically, of making a better neighbor of Mexico.¹⁰⁵ As in the 1940's, the 1990 agreement was passed amidst fierce domestic debate about the impact on employment,¹⁰⁶ especially upon organized labor.¹⁰⁷ And as before, the opposition and support for the agreement divided along regional and party lines. A breakdown of votes reveals a regional voting pattern. In the Northeast and Midwest, Congressmen tended to vote against the agreement, while in the South and the West the Congressmen tended to vote in favor of the agreement.¹⁰⁸ A partisan analysis reveals that as before party affiliations tended to influence how the members of Congress voted.¹⁰⁹

There are differences, however, between the development of

the previous and current agreements. Unlike the 1940's, when the newspaper headlines around the world focused on avoiding another war, in 1994, the United States recognizes that she contends with different political and economic problems. Faced with a world dividing into powerful European and Asian economic blocks, the creation of a North American trade block has become crucial. With Canada, Mexico and the United States covering three times as much territory as the European Economic Community and creating a trade potential of \$240 billion annually,¹¹⁰ NAFTA should make the Western Hemisphere an economic powerhouse. It is not clear, however, that NAFTA will have the specific impact its proponents desire. While most agree that NAFTA encourages an opening of trade by giving the three nations unfettered freedom to make trade agreements with non-participating nations, others argue that NAFTA will encourage protectionism by causing Canada, the United States and Mexico to favor each other over other trading partners.¹¹¹ It may be that NAFTA will not end protectionism but instead encourage it, with each of the trade blocs competing to protect their markets.

Interestingly, the political context has altered with respect to how support and opposition divided along party lines. In the 1940's, Democrats supported the trade agreements, while the Republicans opposed them, but in the 1993 NAFTA vote Democrats tended to vote against the agreement and Republicans favored,¹¹² despite the fact that a Democrat was in the White House.

Studying the history of the 1940 and 1990 trade agreements is important so that scholars may understand the unique historical factors influencing the evolution of events. For example, the man who was president at the time a trade agreement was negotiated was crucial to why it was negotiated and the terms of the agreement. There is no doubt that one president's influence on the agreement is unique and will not be repeated the next time a similar trade agreement is negotiated. However, an understanding of these unique details of history is greatly enriched by examining the political process surrounding the evolution of the agreements. Factoring in that Congress tends to have a low approval rate of treaties and agreements, or that partisan politics has a significant impact on how Congress votes, is an important part of understanding how the policy making *process* "creates" foreign policy. Recognizing the role of the political process

reveals that the development of foreign policy is the result of both independent players who stamp their own imprint on history, and the influence of policymaking processes that would probably play out in a similar way regardless of the autonomous players.

Notes

¹ Alexander DeConde, *A History of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963), p. 3.

² Due to the thematic nature of this study, issues will be discussed in terms of the five year period, disregarding chronology. Both the short time period and the fact that the issues remained relatively constant during the time, allow the analysis to be presented in such a manner.

³ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, October 22, 1944, p. 476.

⁴ New York Times, April 5, 1945, p. 14.

⁵ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, January 3, 1942, pp. 20-21.

⁶ New York Times, January 12, 1940, p. 1.

⁷ Ibid, January 20, 1944, p. 17.

⁸ Ibid, May 20, 1944, p. 1.

⁹ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, April 16, 1944, p. 344.

¹⁰ New York Times, June 15, 1945, p. 22.

¹¹ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, April 29, 1944, pp. 293-295.

¹² U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, May 17, 1941, p. 575.

¹³ New York Times, May 20, 1940, p. 9.

¹⁴ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, May 17, 1941, p. 575. Also cited in New York Times, June 15, 1945, p. 22.

¹⁵ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, August 3, 1940, p. 81.

¹⁶ Ibid, October 11, 1941, p. 270.

¹⁷ Ibid, October 15, 1944, p. 437.

¹⁸ New York Times, April 5, 1945, p. 14.

¹⁹ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, December 3, 1944, pp. 663-667.

²⁰ Ibid, December 3, 1944, p. 665.

²¹ Ibid, March 11, 1941, p. 238.

²² New York Times, July 6, 1945, p. 24.

²³ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, February 20, 1943, p. 171.

²⁴ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, April 8, 1945, p. 647.

²⁵ New York Times, May 20, 1940, p. 9.

²⁶ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, May 22, 1943, p. 444.

²⁷ New York Times, January 2, 1945, p. 12.

²⁸ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, May 1, 1943, p. 381.

²⁹ New York Times, January 12, 1940, p. 1.

³⁰ Ibid., May 20, 1940, p. 9.

³¹ Ibid, February 17, 1944, p. 11.

³² Ibid, March 27, 1945, p. 36.

³³ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, April 8, 1945, p. 647.

³⁴ Ibid, February 20, 1943, p. 169. Some Congressmen suggested a downward revision of tariffs to encourage friendly trade relations with foreign nations. However, the administration opposed this method, believing that reciprocal lowering of tariffs would not be assured without formal agreements. U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, February 20, 1943, p. 170.

³⁵ New York Times, April 17, 1945, p. 17.

³⁶ Ibid, April 2, 1943, p. 1.

³⁷ Ibid, February 21, 1945, p. 14.

³⁸ Ibid, January 12, 1940, p. 4.

³⁹ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, February 20, 1943, p. 170.

⁴⁰ Ibid., August 31, 1940, p. 190.

⁴¹ Ibid, May 15, 1943, p. 428.

⁴² Ibid, October 11, 1941, p. 269.

⁴³ New York Times, January 12, 1940, p. 1.

⁴⁴ Ibid, January 12, 1940, p. 1.

⁴⁵ Ibid, May 20, 1940, p. 9.

⁴⁶ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, May 27, 1945, p. 956.

⁴⁷ New York Times, March 27, 1945, p. 1.

⁴⁸ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, May 1, 1943, p. 385.

⁴⁹ Ibid, May 27, 1945, p. 964.

⁵⁰ U.S., Congress, Congressional Digest, May 1943, p. 149.

⁵¹ New York Times, March 27, 1940, p. 16.

⁵² U.S., Congress, Congressional Digest, May 1943, p. 149.

⁵³ U.S., Department of State, Bulletin, October 22, 1944, p. 478.

⁵⁴ Ibid., May 22, 1943.

⁵⁵ Ibid, May 2, 1943, p. 447.

⁵⁶ Ibid, January 13, 1940, p. 35.

⁵⁷ Ibid, February 20, 1943, p. 171.

⁵⁸ U.S., Congress, Congressional Digest, May 1943, p. 149.

⁵⁹ Due to the small number of third party votes in the renewal of the act, their votes were not taken into consideration when figuring the voting percentages. However, the record of third party votes is shown in the chart.

⁶⁰ Congressional voting records were compiled from: U.S., Congress, Congressional Record, 76th Congress, 3rd Session, February, 1940, p. 1936; U.S., Congress, Congressional Record, 76th Congress, 3rd Session, April 5, 1940, p. 4104; U.S., Congress, Congressional Record, 78th Congress, 1st Session, May 13, 1943, p. 4378; U.S., Congress, Congressional Record, 78th Congress, 1st Session, June 2, 1943, p. 5203; U.S., Congress, Congressional Record, 79th Congress, 1st Session, May 26, 1945, pp. 5165-5166; U.S., Congress, Congressional Record, 79th Congress, 1st Session, June 20, 1945, p. 6364.

⁶¹ The fact that pure national interests did not create foreign policy at the time differs from Alexander DeConde's assertion that "almost all [scholars

of foreign policy] agree that in theory and practice the United States maintains relations with other nations to serve its own interests." Alexander DeConde, *A History of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963), p. 1.

⁶² *New York Times*, January 5, 1943, section III, p. 1.

⁶³ U.S., Department of State, *Bulletin*, January 21, 1945, p. 105.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, April 1, 1945, p. 552.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, May 3, 1941, p. 529.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, October 23, 1943, p. 280.

⁶⁷ The Department of State defined the Good Neighbor Policy as one of mutual respect and confidence of American nations with an understanding that the nations are sovereign partners in cooperative efforts to solve mutual problems. U.S., Department of State, *Bulletin*, November 23, 1940, p. 451.

⁶⁸ The Foreign Ministers of the American Republics met in Panama in 1939 and created the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee. This Committee later provided for the creation of the Inter-American Development Commission. In 1940, a convention was signed by the U.S., Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Paraguay for the establishment of the Inter-American Bank.

⁶⁹ U.S., Department of State, *Bulletin*, February 5, 1944, pp. 152-161.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, March 29, 1941, p. 375.

⁷¹ U.S., Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers*, Department of State Publication No. 7188 (1940), volume V, p. 347.

⁷² John C. deWilde, "Wartime Economic Cooperation in the Americas" *Foreign Policy Reports*, 17 (February 15, 1942): 286.

⁷³ *New York Times*, January 14, 1940, p. 33.

⁷⁴ U.S., Department of State, *Bulletin*, February 20, 1943, p. 169.

⁷⁵ U.S., Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers*, Department of State Publication No. 7188 (1940), pp. 371-372.

⁷⁶ U.S., Department of State, *Bulletin*, December 3, 1944, p. 27.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, January 11, 1941, p. 45.

⁷⁸ *New York Times*, February 1, 1943, p. 27.

⁷⁹ U.S., Department of State, *Bulletin*, November 22, 1941, p. 399.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1942, p. 8.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, April 24, 1943, p. 349.

⁸² *Ibid.*, April 11, 1942, pp. 325-326.

⁸³ Charles I. Bevans, *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America 1776-1949* (Department of State Publications No. 1969) Volume 9, p. 1063.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1063-1064.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1064.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 1064-1065.

⁸⁷ Ibid, pp. 1121, 1123-1124.

⁸⁸ Ibid, pp. 1107-1108.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 1105.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 1200-1205.

⁹¹ Prior to this agreement, the two countries had never previously reached a trade agreement. Ernest S. Hediger, "Impact of War on Mexico's Economy," *Foreign Policy Reports* 19 (June 15, 1943), p. 82.

⁹² U.S., Department of State *Bulletin*, December 26, 1942, p. 1033.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 1034.

⁹⁴ Ibid, May 27, 1945, p. 960.

⁹⁵ Ibid, December 26, 1942, p. 1059.

⁹⁶ Ibid, May 1, 1943, p. 376.

⁹⁷ Ibid, July 17, 1943, p. 41.

⁹⁸ Ibid, February 4, 1945, p. 160.

⁹⁹ *New York Times*, January 30, 1945, p. 25.

¹⁰⁰ U.S., Department of State, *Bulletin*, July 16, 1944, p. 61.

¹⁰¹ *New York Times*, December 8, 1945, p. 26.

¹⁰² Ibid, November 4, 1945, p. 1.

¹⁰³ Bill Nichols, "Next Trade Fight Global in Scope," *USA Today*, December 1, 1993, p. 4A.

¹⁰⁴ Alan Stoga, "Perspective on NAFTA: Coming to Terms With a Neighbor," *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1993, Metro Section, p. 7B.

¹⁰⁵ Robert J. Samuelson, "Perspectives on NAFTA: A Good Deal, Twisted by Bad Politics," *Los Angeles Times*, September 16, 1993, Metro Section, p. 7B.

¹⁰⁶ Ann Devroy, "Clinton Administration to Step Up NAFTA Campaign Effort," *The Washington Post*, October 2, 1993, p. 6A.

¹⁰⁷ Kenneth J. Cooper & Peter Behr, "Sun Belt v. Rust Belt: Trade Pact Debate Causes Regional Conflict" *The Washington Post*, November 6, 1993, p. 1A.

¹⁰⁸ Richard Benedetto, *USA Today*, November 11, 1993, p. 1A. The breakdown was as follows:

Northeast: 34 yes, 61 no; Midwest: 48 yes, 54 no;

South: 83 yes, 41 no; West: 58 yes, 31 no.

¹⁰⁹ According to the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, in the House, 132 Republicans voted in favor of the bill and only 43 Republicans voted against; however, more Democrats voted against the bill (156) than voted for it (102). (U.S., Congress, *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, November 20, 1993, p.3224) A similar pattern occurred in the Senate, however, the split of support and opposition was more evenly divided among the Democrats. While Republicans strongly supported the bill with thirty-four voting in favor of it and only ten voting against it; twenty-seven Democrats voted for the bill and twenty-eight voted against it. (U.S., Congress, *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, November 20, 1993, p. 3257.)

¹¹⁰ "What Countries Want: Regionalism or Globalism" *San Francisco*

34-Trade

Chronicle, September 21, 1992, p. 19A.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² U.S., Congress, *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, November 20, 1993, p. 3224; U.S., Congress, *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, November 20, 1993, p. 3257.

Reacciones nacionalistas a la penetración cultural estadounidense en Quebec y México

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Summary

Unlike Mexico, Quebec has had to devote considerable attention to the preservation of its language and heritage against American cultural influences. Its struggle to maintain its identity as a people is also directed against the rest of Canada, which is particularly susceptible to the process of Americanization. This article will thus analyze nationalist reactions to American cultural penetration in Quebec and Mexico.

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Introducción

Aunque Quebec, como parte integral de Canadá, y México están fuertemente ligados a Estados Unidos a través del comercio y de las inversiones, la cultura también constituye un nexo muy significativo. Culturalmente hablando, estas dos entidades comparten ciertas características que las distinguen de Estados Unidos, particularmente respecto al idioma, la religión, así como un conjunto de valores y tradiciones que componen los rasgos que representan sus respectivas latinidades. Se diferencian sustancialmente, sin embargo, en cuanto a sus situaciones respectivas frente a la influencia cultural estadounidense, aunado a las actitudes y políticas de los gobiernos de estas entidades para limitar o controlar esta influencia.

La mayor parte del siguiente análisis trata del caso de la provincia de Quebec, Canadá, debido a que, en primer lugar, las peculiaridades de esta región no son muy conocidas por muchos mexicanos y, en segundo lugar, como se verá más adelante, su reacción frente al fenómeno de la penetración cultural ha sido mucho más fuerte y notable que en el caso de México.

De acuerdo con el tema tratado en este trabajo, se ha elegido

utilizar un significado socioantropológico del término "cultura" como algo que manifiesta o refleja los valores, tradiciones, costumbres e identidad de un pueblo y, en particular, la llamada "cultura de masas", es decir, aquella parte de esta manifestación—libros, literatura, televisión, cine, radio, etcétera—que está al alcance de la gran mayoría de los ciudadanos. Dentro del contexto de este trabajo, la "penetración cultural estadounidense" significa, particularmente, la influencia de la distribución masiva de libros, música y películas cinematográficas estadounidenses (las llamadas industrias de la cultura o *industries de la conscience*, como los franceses las denominan), y también de las compañías transnacionales, tales como IBM, McDonald's, General Motors, Kentucky Fried Chicken, etcétera. Desde la Segunda Guerra Mundial, estas industrias culturales han crecido enormemente y algunas han alcanzado el tamaño y la proporciones que las figuran como ejemplos de la industria pesada.¹

Debido a ciertas circunstancias, la cultura de Estados Unidos tradicionalmente ha ejercido más influencia sobre la de Canadá, en términos cuantitativos y cualitativos, que el caso contrario. Aunque los dos países cuentan con diferentes tradiciones políticas, comparten una herencia histórico-cultural común. A raíz del hecho de que las dos naciones surgieron de territorios que constituyeron alguna vez las colonias británicas de América del Norte, la relativamente pequeña población canadiense anglófona—20 millones de habitantes aproximadamente—habla el mismo idioma que la de la gran masa de gente—más de 200 millones—que se encuentran al sur, y que también tiene muchos de los mismos intereses y hábitos.² En términos demográficos, más del 90 por ciento de la población de Canadá vive a una distancia de no más de 300 kilómetros de la frontera con Estados Unidos, ya que el norte y el interior del país son áreas con muy escasa población debido a que sus condiciones climáticas y de geografía física las hacen poco adecuadas para la agricultura y el asentamiento humano en general. A raíz de este factor, agregado al hecho de que varias de las ciudades más grandes, tales como Toronto, Montreal y Vancouver, se encuentran cercanas a la frontera, se puede afirmar que Canadá como país constituye una muestra muy clara de región o comunidad fronteriza.³

La provincia de Quebec también constituye una región fronteriza, en vista de que el grueso de su población habita una zona

contigua a Estados Unidos, específicamente, el valle del Río San Lorenzo, y, al igual que el resto de Canadá, es especialmente vulnerable a la penetración cultural estadounidense. Al mismo tiempo, sin embargo, los quebequenses disfrutan de cierta homogeneidad, a la que se le agrega un fuerte sentido de la necesidad de mantener su cultura e identidad étnica intacta frente a lo que perciben como amenazas o asaltos provenientes de la población angloparlante de América del Norte. Los francocanadienses, la mayoría de los cuales viven en Quebec, han desarrollado su propia identidad cultural; a diferencia de los miembros de la población anglófona, saben porque son como son, es decir, tienen un sentido de identidad y comunidad mucho más fuerte que el de los angloparlantes; representan, en muchos sentidos, una comunidad nacional. Cuando un francocanadiense habla de su "país" o *patrie*, se refiere al Canadá francés, puesto que para él, "país" significa un sentido de la seguridad y del entendimiento basado en una herencia cultural que contiene ingredientes de idioma, cultura e ideas filosóficas.⁴

En el caso de México, el hecho de que la mayor parte de su población se encuentra en la zona meridional del país ⁵ ayuda hasta cierto punto para protegerla de la penetración cultural estadounidense. Aunque las influencias culturales estadounidenses han llegado a penetrar hasta los rincones más remotos de la república, su grado de intensidad varía de acuerdo con las ubicaciones de las respectivas regiones y sus características históricas, económicas y sociales. Culturalmente, las regiones del sur y centro de México se diferencian considerablemente de la zona fronteriza entre México y Estados Unidos.

En cambio, la faja fronteriza del norte de México, a raíz de su cercanía con Estados Unidos, así como sus vínculos históricos y actuales con este país, combinado con su lejanía referente a los principales centros políticos, económicos y culturales de la nación, ha conservado lazos culturales particularmente estrechos con su vecino norteamericano. En consecuencia, la interacción social con Estados Unidos es mucho más frecuente y cotidiana en esta zona que en el resto del país.⁶

El desarrollo de la hegemonía cultural francesa en América

A lo largo de su historia, Quebec ha podido mantener cierta cohesión étnica y social, que ha sido un factor imprescindible en su

lucha para preservar intacta su identidad cultural. Su "nacionalidad", o sentido de ser parte de una nación, no se originó en 1867, con la promulgación del Estatuto de la América del Norte Británica (que unificó a las colonias británicas al mismo tiempo en que se les concedió la autonomía política), sino a principios del siglo XVII, cuando se dio inicio a la colonización francesa en la América del Norte (o, incluso, el siglo XVI, si se toma en cuenta el período de exploración). Casi todos los francocanadienses son descendientes de personas que arribaron al continente antes de mediados del siglo XVIII; la mayoría, de hecho, llegaron antes de 1700.⁷

A partir de los inicios de la colonización francesa en América, han surgido en el Canadá francés un gran número de instituciones y asociaciones distintivas, a las cuales los francocanadienses han dado su firme lealtad. Les han ayudado a siempre estar conscientes de sus orígenes históricos y de su identidad como miembros de una colectividad distinta dentro del ambiente cultural de la América del Norte.

La institución central ha sido la Iglesia Católica, puesto que, y a semejanza de México, casi todos los habitantes de Quebec pertenecen a esta religión. Las circunstancias históricas en que se formaron las colonias francesas en el Nuevo Mundo, así como su desarrollo posterior bajo el régimen británico, permitieron, o más bien obligaron, que la Iglesia desempeñara un papel muy significativo dentro de la sociedad quebequense. En la colonia de la Nueva Francia, la Iglesia al nivel rural influía en casi todos los aspectos de la vida social de los *habitantes*: los días festivos—la mayoría de los cuales eran religiosos—las ceremonias eclesiásticas, etc. El *curé*, o sacerdote, tenía un fuerte contacto personal con sus parroquianos, en vista de que él mismo frecuentemente provenía de la clase campesina. La Iglesia también influyó fuertemente en la vida urbana de la colonia, puesto que poseía un monopolio de control sobre la educación en todos los niveles, desde el nivel de primaria hasta la educación superior, así como sobre los hospitales y enfermerías de la colonia. A raíz de las enormes mercedes de tierra que le fueron otorgadas por el gobierno real, así como la subsecuente gran acumulación de propiedades adicionales y la riqueza en general, también llegó a influir en muchas actividades de tipo económico y político.⁸ Tal ha sido la magnitud de la influencia de la Iglesia católica en Quebec y tan íntima ha sido la

relación de los francocanadienses con esta institución, que éstos la han visto como uno de los factores claves para asegurar la sobrevivencia de su colectividad o "nación", como ellos la han denominado en varias ocasiones, en América del Norte.⁹

Después de la conquista de Canadá por los británicos en 1759, a los quebequenses les fue concedido el derecho de utilizar su propio idioma, religión, sistema e instituciones educativas y, dentro lo que posteriormente surgiría como la provincia de Quebec, el derecho civil basado en el código napoleónico. Estos derechos recibieron protección adicional por medio del estatuto de Quebec de 1774, que reconoció la igualdad de hecho de dos grupos de personas—los habitantes anglo y francocanadienses—que estaban separados por idioma, religión y tradición legal. Fue durante este período cuando también surgió entre los quebequenses un miedo de la influencia estadounidense en sus asuntos internos y estilo de vida. En por lo menos dos ocasiones—durante la guerra revolucionaria de 1776-1781 y el conflicto de 1812-1814—, rehusaron aliarse con los estadounidenses en contra de los ingleses, puesto que no querían arriesgar la pérdida de las concesiones que los británicos les habían concedido.¹⁰

Posteriormente, en la década de 1860, durante el proceso de negociación que condujo a la confederación de las colonias de la América del Norte británica, para convencer a sus líderes de las ventajas de una unión política entre las colonias, y al mismo tiempo, reducir las sospechas de los francocanadienses en cuanto a la asimilación, a las provincias les fue otorgado el derecho de ejercer su propia autoridad sobre, entre otras cosas, la cultura.¹¹

Hasta principios del siglo XX, la sociedad y economía quebequenses eran esencialmente de tipo agrario y conservador. Aunque la provincia no experimentó mucho desarrollo industrial y cultural durante este largo período, se hicieron grandes logros en términos de proteger y conservar los valores tradicionales del pueblo quebequense. De esta manera, se establecieron los cimientos para asegurar su futura sobrevivencia como grupo y evitar su asimilación a la población mayormente angloparlante de América del Norte.¹²

No obstante, a partir de los principios del siglo XX, Quebec comenzó a industrializarse, un proceso que a lo largo efectuaría grandes y profundos cambios en el estilo de vida de sus habitantes. De 1900 a 1950, se transformó de una sociedad agrícola y rural a una que

era urbana basada en una economía manufacturera y de servicios. En la medida en que Quebec se abrió al mundo, llegó a ser más influido por sus vecinos angloparlantes y por la civilización estadounidense. Poco a poco, los centros urbanos quebequenses adquirieron ciertos rasgos culturales de sus vecinos al sur.¹³

A pesar de esta transformación, la provincia logró mantener cierta autonomía respecto a su vida cultural e instituciones, así como su sentido de diferir de otras sociedades del continente. Esto se debió en parte al hecho de que había podido preservar sus propios sistemas político, legal y religioso, pero también fue resultado de que, a diferencia del Canadá anglófono, Quebec, hasta las décadas más recientes, no ha recibido mucha inmigración, con la diversidad y dislocación cultural que ésta provoca. Los dos factores anteriormente señalados han permitido la preservación de un sentido de identidad comunitaria mucho más potente que en el resto del país.¹⁴

A lo largo de los siglos, México, al igual que Quebec, también ha logrado desarrollar y conservar una fuerte cohesión étnica y social, aunque las diferencias culturales en el caso de este país y Estados Unidos son mucho mayores. A consecuencia de su historia, en México se formó una identidad cultural nacional distinta a la europea en términos de raza, religión, idioma, etc., que estaba fuertemente arraigada a las antiguas civilizaciones indígenas de Mesoamérica. El mestizaje de los pueblos autóctonos con los colonos españoles y de otros países, la fusión del catolicismo con elementos de las religiones nativas, el intercambio de costumbres y tradiciones, así como otros muchos tipos de interacción y sincretismo cultural, hicieron de México un país marcadamente diferente de las regiones colonizadas por los europeos en la parte septentrional del continente americano e incluso de las demás repúblicas latinoamericanas. Como en el caso de Quebec, México se caracteriza por la relativa homogeneidad de su población, dado que no ha recibido fuertes flujos de inmigrantes de otros orígenes nacionales.¹⁵

La cuestión de lenguaje y de la supervivencia cultural

Además de las circunstancias favorables que permitieron que los quebequenses mantuvieran un alto grado de homogeneidad social a lo largo del período de dominio inglés y hasta el proceso de modernización de la provincia en el transcurso del siglo XX, existe el

factor lingüístico, que en la actualidad constituye un baluarte crítico en la lucha por preservar su identidad cultural—y tal vez política—así como actuar como obstáculo a la infiltración cultural estadounidense.¹⁶

Como es natural suponer, el grado de penetración cultural estadounidense en Quebec no es tan elevado como en el caso del resto de Canadá, puesto que el 75 por ciento de su población es monolingüe (es decir, únicamente francoparlante) y, naturalmente, los miembros de este grupo no tienen tanto interés en los productos culturales en inglés como en los de su propio idioma. Aun cuando en general los francocanadienses son muy norteamericanos en términos de sus gustos y hábitos, la diferencia de idioma les insula hasta cierto punto de la penetración cultural estadounidense, mientras, al mismo tiempo, sirve para estimular la creatividad dentro de su propia sociedad.¹⁷

No obstante, los datos estadísticos en torno a los idiomas hablados por los ciudadanos de Canadá y Estados Unidos no ofrecen mucha esperanza de que el idioma francés continúe siendo un baluarte tan eficaz en este sentido. Respecto a Canadá, hay alrededor de 6 millones de francoparlantes frente a más de 16 millones que hablan el inglés. Al considerar el continente en su totalidad, existen, además de los angloparlantes canadienses, más de 200 millones de estadounidenses que también utilizan este idioma.

El grado de asimilación de los quebequenses a la cultura anglófona ha sido medido muchas veces en términos de idioma. La pérdida del uso del francés en la provincia—es decir, el aumento en el empleo del inglés entre los miembros de las familias francocanadienses—ha reducido, culturalmente, los “límites divisorios” entre los dos principales grupos lingüísticos en Canadá.¹⁸

Esta realidad significa que los quebequenses perciben la amenaza a su cultura como algo que tiene que ver no tanto con su vecindad con Estados Unidos como con su situación dentro del mar anglófono que existe por todos lados.¹⁹ Para muchos de ellos, la principal amenaza en términos de su posible asimilación al mundo anglófono es el resto de Canadá, con “sus bellas artes y cultura en general dedicadas a la adulación e imitación de la cultura de otro pueblo [es decir, los estadounidenses]”.²⁰ En Quebec, la cultura se ha convertido en una lucha en que la identidad colectiva se encuentra amenazada por las presiones de asimilación, que son fuertes, debido no sólo al muy pronunciado desequilibrio demográfico continental

mentado previamente, sino también a las recompensas económicas que actúan en favor del desarrollo de la cultura anglófona y que han dado a los francocanadienses muchos incentivos para aprehender el inglés.²¹ Se han mostrado resistentes, empero, hacia una asimilación total al mundo angloparlante. Como en el caso de los habitantes de América Latina, los quebequenses han visto a los estadounidenses como gente que estima más el dinero y el materialismo que los valores espirituales e intelectuales. Durante más de un siglo, los sacerdotes de la Iglesia Católica en Quebec habían enseñado a sus parroquianos que, para conservar la herencia del pasado, la "nación" francocanadiense no sólo debía retener su idioma y su religión, sino hacer todo lo posible para resistir las tentaciones de la vida moderna.²²

Cabe destacar que, en general, los quebequenses muestran más seriedad que sus contrapartes anglófonos en cuestiones relacionadas a su cultura. En los colegios y universidades de la provincia, por ejemplo, en donde se forma la élite intelectual, los profesores en las áreas de filosofía, las humanidades, las ciencias sociales y las artes siempre han sido quebequenses y, por ende, más sensitivos en torno a la cuestión nacional en su provincia. Incluso, aquellos profesores quienes no son quebequenses y que han permanecido en Quebec han llegado a convertirse en defensores de los valores de este pueblo. Tal fenómeno no ha ocurrido en el resto de Canadá, aun cuando allí también la cuestión de la preservación de la identidad nacional y la cultura han llegado a formar en varias ocasiones tema de debate y discusión dentro del gobierno y entre el público en general. También a diferencia del caso en Quebec, en las universidades del resto de Canadá en general los profesores no consideran que su propio país y su historia constituyan temas centrales para sus campos de investigación. Como resultado, no perciben como su función la de utilizar sus propios conocimientos y perspectivas para analizar la vida contemporánea en Canadá, ni de participar o prestar apoyo para la realización de investigaciones sobre la experiencia canadiense en general.²³

Asimismo, la actitud del público hacia el arte y los artistas difiere sustancialmente en las dos comunidades lingüísticas. Por ejemplo, no existe en el resto de Canadá el grado de respeto y el orgullo que los quebequenses sienten hacia sus artistas y cultura. En un ensayo sobre la cultura y la política gubernamental en Canadá,

Bernard Ostry, un antiguo ministro diputado del Departamento de Comunicaciones, criticó a todos los gobiernos regionales canadienses con la excepción del de Quebec, por no haber dedicado suficiente atención a asuntos de política cultural.²⁴

El impacto de la publicidad y los medios masivos de comunicación

Hacia mediados del presente siglo, al igual que en el resto de Canadá, los crecientes lazos comerciales con Estados Unidos, el auge en la prosperidad de Canadá, así como mejoras en el ramo de las comunicaciones, particularmente respecto a la difusión de la televisión al nivel del consumidor ordinario, rompieron con el aislamiento relativo en que muchos quebequenses tradicionalmente habían vivido y dieron lugar a una situación en que parecía que su cultura estaba condenada a sufrir un debilitamiento gradual e irreversible. Durante la primera mitad de este siglo, el cine y la radio formaban las principales vías de penetración cultural en Canadá. Sin embargo, a partir de los principios de la década de 1950, la difusión de la televisión en Canadá como medio de comunicación llegó a ser el más significativo en este sentido. Durante más de cuatro décadas, la televisión, junto con el cine, y más recientemente el video, ha ocupado una porción sustancial del tiempo libre—varias horas diarias—de la gran mayoría de los habitantes de América del Norte. La publicidad y los medios de comunicación, reforzados por los numerosos avances tecnológicos de las últimas décadas, por ejemplo, las computadoras, los satélites, la cablevisión, *pay-T.V.*, etc., son otras vías de transmisión muy eficaces en términos de la penetración cultural estadounidense a través de la frontera Quebec-Estados Unidos. El hecho de que la mayoría de los quebequenses hablaran un idioma que difería del de los estadounidenses ya no pudo seguir en su papel de barrera para detener la influencia estadounidense en este sector, puesto que las vías de transmisión no dependían del tradicional material impreso en un idioma extranjero que podría o no ser traducido al francés, sino más bien llegaba directamente a las casas, escuelas y lugares de trabajo de la mayoría de habitantes.²⁵

El hecho de que la mayoría de quebequenses hablen únicamente el francés significa que la penetración cultural por medio de la programación televisiva no ha tenido la importancia que tiene en el resto de Canadá. No obstante, aunque esta población ve más programas

producidos localmente, que además son atractivos y muestran un alto grado de creatividad ²⁶, a causa de su cercanía a Estados Unidos, la mayoría de los programas accesibles, sobre todo con respecto a los centros urbanos más grandes—especialmente Montreal, donde un 60 por ciento de cuyos habitantes hablan el inglés como idioma—, son estadounidenses.²⁷ Por añadidura, aquellos programas que se transmiten en francés (traducidos o con subtítulos, como en el caso de las películas cinematográficas) todavía retienen su contenido e ideología estadounidenses.²⁸ Aunque la cantidad de programación estadounidense transmitida por los canales quebequenses ha estado bajando en los años recientes, todavía se encuentra en una posición predominante. Tal es el grado de la popularidad de esta programación, que las regulaciones de contenido impuestas por el gobierno canadiense no han sido muy eficaces en reducir significativamente la penetración cultural estadounidense a través de la televisión; de hecho, una restricción de hasta un 100 por ciento del contenido de los programas transmitidos desde estaciones canadienses tendrían poco o ningún efecto.²⁹

Los quebequenses, al igual que sus contrapartes anglófonos, son aficionados y consumidores ávidos de la mayoría de productos estadounidenses, muchos de los cuales han llegado a conocer a través de la publicidad en general y especialmente por los comerciales y programas transmitidos en la televisión. También han surgido varias de las formas de restaurantes estadounidenses más típicas, como los famosos “diners” y los que venden “comida rápida”—algunos la denominan “comida de basura”—en la forma de *hot-dogs* (“perros calientes”), hamburguesas, pizzas, helados, etc. Como en otras partes del mundo, estos gustos y preferencias en términos de productos de consumo no necesariamente indican un deseo consciente de emular o copiar manifestaciones culturales estadounidenses, sino más bien de tener al alcance de uno todo lo disponible en lo moderno, independientemente de cualquier consideración del país productor de la mercancía. Sea como fuere, varios de estos bienes de consumo, tales como los televisores y aparatos estereofónicos, no representan tecnología que es culturalmente neutral, sino que requieren el desarrollo de un producto cultural relacionado con su uso—programas de televisión, discos fonográficos, cassettes de tipo audio y de video, etc.—que suministra la industria de entretenimiento estadounidense.³⁰

Los habitantes de Quebec en general no suelen quejarse de las

influencias culturales provenientes del sur; de hecho, consumen los productos culturales—revistas, discos, y programas de televisión y radio—sin cuestionar sus valores intrínsecos u orígenes nacionales. Los jóvenes, como en casi cualquier otra parte del mundo, son los más receptivos a esta influencia cultural que se vuelve cada vez más accesible, factor que se ha incrementado con el continuo desarrollo de aparatos electrónicos sofisticados. Durante un largo período, los quebequenses han vivido según los modelos y estilos de vida estadounidenses y se han convertido en una especie de “americanos francoparlantes”, por lo menos en lo que se refiere a su estilo de vida.³¹ Al igual que muchos canadienses en general, se sienten cómodos al estar en un ambiente cultural estadounidense, como muestra el hecho de que cada año miles de ellos van a pasar semanas y hasta meses de vacaciones en Florida. Este gusto por las cosas y la cultura estadounidense ha sido inducido en parte por las películas de Hollywood y otras formas de entretenimiento estadounidenses.³² En cambio, aquellos habitantes que cuentan con un nivel superior de educación—sobre todo en torno a la élite intelectual (escritores, críticos, profesores universitarios)—o de ingresos altos, no sólo muestran más preferencia por los productos culturales manufacturados localmente, sino también más preocupación frente a los efectos perjudiciales de la penetración cultural proveniente del sur, así como la omnipresencia de valores materialistas estadounidenses en la sociedad canadiense.³³

Al igual que Quebec, México comenzó a ser sujeto de las fuerzas de modernización hacia finales del siglo pasado, con el resultado de que los mexicanos, especialmente los grupos más jóvenes, han adoptado cada vez más los hábitos y costumbres estadounidenses referentes a la comida, la vestimenta, el baile, la lectura, la moral sexual, gustos musicales y preferencias en el cine y la televisión.

Existen diferencias marcadas, sin embargo. México, un país que se encuentra todavía en vías de desarrollo, colinda con la nación más próspera y potente del mundo, mientras que Quebec es una entidad que cuenta con un alto grado de industrialización y autosuficiencia económica. Por ende, las condiciones que favorecen el flujo cultural de una sociedad grande a una más pequeña y colindante son mucho más relevantes en el caso de México que Quebec. Los avances en la tecnología electrónica durante las décadas recientes han particularmente acentuado el grado de penetración

cultural estadounidense en México, dado que éste cuenta con sólo una fracción de los recursos que tiene Estados Unidos para invertir en este ramo.³⁴

Además, a diferencia de Quebec, son los miembros de los estratos inferiores que sienten más el orgullo de lo nacional y de su mexicanidad, mientras que una proporción de personas mucho más alta pertenecientes a los grupos económicamente más potentes quieren pasar al otro lado en busca de educación, servicios, objetos de mercancía, etc.; incluso, si fuera posible, les gustaría ir a vivir en Estados Unidos. En términos culturales, es esta clase de personas que, al intentar acercarse más a su patrón ideal, es decir, lo estadounidense, se alejan de su propia identidad nacional.³⁵

El resurgimiento del nacionalismo quebequense y su impacto en la cultura

El resurgimiento del nacionalismo quebequense durante las décadas de 1950 y 1960, bajo las administraciones de Maurice Duplessis y Jean Lesage y a lo largo del movimiento conocido como la "Revolución Tranquila", hizo que los quebequenses y sus líderes entendieran que la cultura representaba un fenómeno que abarcaba todo y que funcionaba dentro del mismo corazón de la sociedad. La palabra "cultura" ya no era dominio exclusivo de las clases privilegiadas, sino que se había convertido en algo que afectaba a la gente en general y que había hecho su aparición en la arena del debate político.³⁶

De todos los gobiernos provinciales, el de Quebec ha adoptado, desde el punto de vista legislativo, la posición más activa en el campo de la cultura al implementar, a través de una serie de reglamentos, una forma de "proteccionismo cultural" específicamente con respecto a la exhibición de películas extranjeras en las salas cinematográficas en la provincia, así como referente a la edición y venta de libros.³⁷

El gobierno también promovió enérgicamente el desarrollo de actividades culturales en la provincia. Durante la década de 1960, durante la administración del primer ministro Lesage, y con el apoyo de becas del Canada Council así como las oportunidades de empleo que ciertas instituciones gubernamentales como Radio Canadá y el National Film Board brindaron a sus jóvenes artistas, se editaron una plétora de libros, obras de teatro y cantos populares que enaltecieron

la herencia francocanadiense. También se introdujeron a la provincia películas cinematográficas, obras teatrales y periódicos importados de Francia en cantidades cada vez mayores. Esta política provincial y federal de patrocinar las artes continuó a lo largo de la década de los setenta y se mantiene vigorosa hoy en día.³⁸

Asimismo, el gobierno quebequense se ha aprovechado del derecho constitucional canadiense que otorga a cada provincia la autonomía en asuntos educativos como un elemento clave en su programa para asegurar la *survivance* (supervivencia) de la cultura francocanadiense.³⁹ Ciertas leyes aprobadas por el parlamento de Quebec referente al uso de idiomas en la provincia, tales como la *Loi sur la langue officielle* (conocida popularmente como la Ley Núm. 22), aprobada en 1974, y la *Charte de la langue française* (la Ley Núm. 101) de 1977, que fueron diseñadas con el objeto de convertir "el francés en el idioma del Estado y del derecho, así como del trabajo, de la educación, comunicaciones y del comercio, así también obligar a que los hijos de inmigrantes asistieran a escuelas donde se imparten las materias en el idioma francés". Se establecieron varias agencias con el objeto de cumplir con este propósito: la Ministère de l'Éducation y la Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Science, con respecto al aprendizaje y dominio del idioma francés, la Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration para tratar de los inmigrantes a la provincia; la Ministère des Communications, referente al procesamiento de datos, nuevas tecnologías y los medios de comunicación; la Ministère des Affaires Internationales, sobre la participación y contribución de Quebec a la comunidad francoparlante; la Secrétariat aux affaires intergouvernementales canadiennes, con respecto a las comunicaciones y la cooperación con los canadienses francoparlantes en las demás provincias de Canadá; y la Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, para promover la diseminación de productos culturales en francés. En la práctica, esta legislación ha tenido que ver más con el idioma utilizado en el lugar de trabajo y en señalamientos públicos que con el impacto de los medios de comunicación, puesto que éstos caen bajo la jurisdicción del gobierno federal, factor que ha conducido a disputas entre Quebec y Ottawa sobre el control de estos medios.⁴⁰

El "informe blanco"⁴¹ de 1978 sobre el Desarrollo Cultural en Quebec hizo hincapié en la elaboración de una política y programa

con el propósito de fomentar la cultura dentro de la provincia, con la promoción del idioma francés como el punto focal del programa, al mismo tiempo en que se fortalecería la resistencia a las corrientes de americanización u otras influencias perjudiciales. René Levesque, el primer ministro de Quebec de aquel entonces, demandaba que las industrias culturales ubicadas dentro de la provincia estuvieran arraigadas en la entidad con reglas del juego claras y bien definidas.⁴² Asimismo, se determinó fomentar el uso del francés en el área de las tecnologías de información y en las coproducciones audiovisuales, así como para apoyar eventos culturales y festivales que estimularan la promoción y disseminación de productos culturales en este idioma.⁴³ En los años más recientes, se han hecho esfuerzos para que la gente utilice las palabras de su propio idioma en lugar de expresiones de tipo "franglais".⁴⁴

Aunque el gobierno de Quebec reconoce la existencia de una diversidad de minorías étnicas dentro de la población de la provincia, ha intentado promover entre ellas una tendencia hacia lo que algunos sociólogos han denominado la "francoconformidad".

La población anglófona, que se encuentra concentrada en Montreal, ha disminuido, proporcionalmente, en relación a la comunidad francoparlante en gran parte debido a la política gubernamental que favorece el uso del francés, junto con el desarrollo económico de Ontario y las provincias del lejano oeste que ha alentado la inmigración de algunos de sus miembros a estas regiones.⁴⁵

Como sus contrapartes quebequeses, los nacionalistas mexicanos, independientemente de su ideología política particular, han condenado vehementemente la influencia cultural estadounidense por ser "nociva", debido a que, según ellos, corroe el sentido de patriotismo entre sus connacionales, al mismo tiempo en que contamina o diluye la pureza de los valores tradicionales del país. Opinan que tal influencia es sintomática de otras formas de penetración que son igualmente peligrosas, sobre todo las de tipo económico o político.⁴⁶

El gobierno de Quebec, empero, ha adoptado una posición mucho más fuerte que México en términos de difundir el uso de lenguaje como un baluarte principal en la defensa de la cultura quebequense. Aunque en México se han realizado campañas a los niveles oficiales y escolares para mantener el español libre de extranjerismos, sobre todo de los anglicismos, debido a la importancia

del inglés para el turismo, que representa una fuente importante de ingresos nacionales, así como la necesidad de aprender y manejar el inglés como el idioma internacional más importante en las áreas de las ciencias, la tecnología y el comercio, las autoridades mexicanas han mostrado poco interés por adoptar una política semejante a la de Quebec.

A lo largo de toda la franja territorial del lado mexicano de la frontera, la presencia del inglés es muy notable en la forma de señalamientos de caminos, letreros de los edificios de negocios y establecimientos comerciales, y cartas de menús de los restaurantes, entre otros ejemplos. También es cada vez más perceptible en la conversación cotidiana de los habitantes, no tanto en términos de su estructura fonética, sino más bien del léxico utilizado. La frontera norte mexicana no constituye la única zona en donde se destaca la influencia del inglés; también abunda en otras regiones del país, particularmente en la capital, debido a las noticias provenientes de agencias estadounidenses con defectos de traducción, el diluvio de publicidad transmitida por la prensa, anuncios en la radio y la televisión en conexión con productos extranjeros o nacionales y que contienen una infinidad de palabras en inglés—muchas de ellas innecesarias—, así como los tecnicismos utilizados en la literatura de la mayoría de las disciplinas académicas y que son productos de adaptaciones inadecuadas al español de voces inglesas, etcétera.⁴⁷

La influencia cultural estadounidense ha dejado su huella en varios otros aspectos de la vida social y cultural de los mexicanos. En las poblaciones del lado mexicano de la frontera es cada vez más común, por ejemplo, la celebración de festividades de origen estadounidense, como el *Halloween*, *Thanksgiving Day* (Día de Gracias) y el Día de la Coneja (celebrado el Domingo de Pascua), aunque algunas, por ejemplo la de *Halloween*, también se celebran en otras regiones de la república, tales como la ciudad de México y Veracruz.⁴⁸ Por otro lado, cabe señalar que el alejamiento de la población que habita el norte de México del interior de México, junto con los contrastes siempre presentes entre las culturas mexicana y estadounidense en la frontera, tienen como consecuencia que los norteños, particularmente los que habitan las ciudades fronterizas, sean más conscientes de su herencia histórica y se sientan más patrióticos respecto a su significancia que los mexicanos en general;

asimismo, hay mayor aceptación entre ellos de los valores tradicionales de la cultura mexicana.⁴⁹

La cuestión de la "soberanía" quebequense y las reacciones de la provincia frente al acuerdo de libre comercio

Si bien anterior a la década de 1960 los francocanadienses buscaban evitar cambios que afectarían sus derechos ya establecidos, a partir de este período crucial, además de esta meta, también han intentado conseguir nuevos poderes para apoyar el futuro desarrollo de su "colectividad" o "nación". Un paso esencial en este proceso ha sido la tarea de definir una nueva estructura federal que comenzó con la repatriación de la constitución en 1982.

El movimiento separatista en Quebec, que tuvo gran desarrollo en la década de 1960 y volvió a surgir otra vez a finales de la década de 1980, es interpretado por muchos de sus habitantes como la única manera factible de lograr sus propósitos políticos y económicos, así como de asegurar su integridad y supervivencia como pueblo. Quebec, se argumentaba, tenía todas las características esenciales para que se transformara en un estado viable; era más grande que la mayoría de los países europeos, mucho más próspero y desarrollado que cualquiera de las naciones africanas y asiáticas que consiguieron su independencia en las décadas de 1950 y 1960, y su pueblo constituía una nación homogénea con una historia larga y distintiva.⁵⁰ El movimiento hacia la independencia de Quebec podría terminar en el retiro eventual de esta provincia de la federación canadiense o, alternativamente, una forma negociada de autonomía que le permitiera permanecer dentro de la federación nacional, pero con una autoridad completa respecto a sus asuntos internos; tal posición de "soberanía limitada" implica que podría mantener ciertos acuerdos de tipo comercial y económico con las demás provincias de la federación.

La resistencia a ser asimilados por la población anglófona del continente ha sido un fuerte motivo detrás de este movimiento. Algunos quienes simpatizan con la idea de separatismo argumentan que, para escapar de los efectos centralizadores del gobierno federal que actúan como un apoyo constante para las fuerzas que empujan hacia la asimilación lingüística, es necesario que Quebec se convierta en un estado independiente o con un alto grado de autonomía para que, a través del control gubernamental de la economía, la cultura francesa

sea preservada y desarrollada. Los que se oponen al separatismo indican que el logro de tal propósito no evitaría la entrada a la provincia de elementos culturales extranjeros, puesto que un Quebec independiente estaría tan expuesta a las influencias estadounidenses y anglocanadienses, como si estuviera dentro de la federación.⁵¹

Referente a las repercusiones que podrían ejercer los tratados de Libre Comercio, que actualmente abarcan las tres naciones principales de América del Norte, es interesante notar que, al estar más seguros de su identidad cultural y de no percibir la amenaza de la influencia cultural estadounidense del mismo grado que el resto de la nación, el gobierno quebequense dio su apoyo al Acuerdo de Libre Comercio firmado entre Canadá y Estados Unidos en 1988, mientras que Ontario, la provincia más inundada y expuesta a la cultura popular estadounidense, titubeó durante un tiempo en firmar el documento. Incluso, algunos políticos quebequenses elogieron la firma del tratado, al pensar que agravaría todavía más las divisiones existentes dentro del país y que, de esta manera, ayudaría a promover la causa en favor de la soberanía de su provincia.⁵²

Sea como fuere, muchos habitantes de Quebec creen que la creciente integración de los mercados económicos y de comunicaciones en la América del Norte sólo empeorará el problema de la penetración cultural estadounidense.⁵³ Varios mexicanos comparten esta opinión referente a su propio país, puesto que la mayor apertura comercial y tecnológica que los acuerdos del NAFTA ofrecen para los tres países firmantes sin duda resultará en un incremento significativo en términos de la interacción cultural. En un futuro no tan lejano, es posible que se aumente y acelere en el interior de la república este proceso. Ya en la actualidad muchas otras regiones de México experimentan el interculturalismo, debido a factores como la migración temporal de varios de sus habitantes a Estados Unidos, los viajes de alumnos a este país con el propósito de continuar sus estudios, el creciente acceso de la gente en general a los diferentes medios de comunicación, así como el aumento en la importación de productos del extranjero, principalmente estadounidenses. El desarrollo y la extensión de los medios internacionales de comunicación electrónica, sobre todo, constituyen el factor clave, tanto en México como en otras muchas regiones del mundo, en la transnacionalización de la cultura.⁵⁴

En resumen, tanto Quebec como México están más expuestos

a la penetración cultural estadounidense que el inverso de esta situación, es decir, en términos de la mucho más limitada manera en que estos países han influido en el estilo de vida y las costumbres de los estadounidenses. El tamaño de la población quebequense es cada vez menor, proporcionalmente, a la de la comunidad anglófona del continente. En el caso de los hispanoparlantes, sin embargo, se incrementa con el paso del tiempo, a un ritmo mayor que el de otras minorías. De hecho, si siguen los índices actuales de crecimiento, llegará un momento, más o menos para mediados del siglo siguiente, en que los mexico-estadunidenses se convertirán en la minoría étnica más grande del continente. La magnitud de este crecimiento sin duda ejercerá repercusiones muy profundas respecto a los tradicionales patrones culturales estadounidenses.

Notas

¹ Sólo en Canadá, para 1980, su valor en conjunto alcanzó la cifra de casi 6 mil millones de dólares al año. Susan Crean y Marcel Rioux, *Two Nations: An Essay on the Culture and Politics of Canada and Quebec in a World of American Pre-eminence*, Toronto, James Lorimer & Company, 1983, págs. 76-77 y 102-103.

² Actualmente, Canadá tiene una población de 27,500,000 habitantes aproximadamente, de los cuales alrededor de 7,000,000 personas hablan el francés (un millón de esta segunda categoría son de hecho bilingües). *Canadiana: boletín informativo de la Embajada de Canadá*, vol. 1, núm. 4 (enero de 1993), pág. 4. Estados Unidos cuenta con 250 millones de personas, casi una quinta parte de los cuales también hablan otros idiomas, principalmente el español.

³ Richard P. Nielson, y Angela B. Nielson, "Canadian TV Content Regulation and U.S. Cultural "Overflow"", en *Journal of Broadcasting*, v. 20, núm. 4 (otoño de 1976), pág. 461; Susan Crean y Marcel Rioux, *op. cit.*, pág. 96.

⁴ La "identidad cultural" puede ser definida como "las actitudes, emociones e ideas compartidas que constituyen una membrana psicológica que separa los de adentro de los de afuera". William Metcalfe, *Understanding Canada: A Multidisciplinary Introduction to Canadian Studies*, New York, New York University Press, 1982, págs. 392-393; Richard Collins, *Culture, Communication and National Identity: The Case of Canadian Television*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990, pág. 20; June Callwood, *Portrait of Canada*, Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday and Company, 1965, pág. xiv. Véase también Gerald Clark, *Canada: The Uneasy Neighbour*, New York, David McKay Company, 1965, págs. 119-120; y Eric Waddell, "Cultural Hearth, Continental Diaspora: The Place of Québec in North America", en L.D. McCann, ed., *Hearthland and Hinterland: A Geography of Canada*, Scarborough, Ont., Prentice-Hall Canada, 1982, pág. 150.

⁵ John A. Price, *Tijuana: Urbanization in a Border Culture*, Notre Dame,

Ind., University of Notre Dame, 1973, pág. 3; México. Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geográfica e Informática, *Resumen General del XI Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 1990*, México, Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geográfica e Informática, 1992, págs. 28-34.

⁶ James Lawrence McConville, "El Paso-Ciudad Juárez: A Focus of Inter-American Culture", en *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. 40, núm. 3 (julio de 1965), págs. 233, 238 y 243; Alicia Castellanos Guerrero y Gilberto López y Rivas, "La influencia norteamericana en la cultura de la frontera norte de México", en Roque González Salazar, comp., *La frontera del norte: integración y desarrollo*, México, El Colegio de México, 1981, págs. 81-82.

⁷ Gerald M. Craig, *The United States and Canada*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1968, pág. 277; Eric Waddell, op. cit., págs. 138-139.

⁸ G.P. de T. Glazebrook, *A Short History of Canada*, Oxford, Inglaterra, Oxford University Press, 1950, págs. 28, 56-57 y 60; Arthur R.M. Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada*, 4ta. ed., Don Mills, Ont., Longmans Canada Limited, 1964, págs. 26, 29, 31-32, 47-48 y 53-57.

⁹ Gerald M. Craig, op. cit., págs. 277-278; Eric Waddell, op. cit., págs. 141-142.

¹⁰ H. Carl Goldenberg, "'Americanization' of Canada", en *The Fortnightly*, no. 834 (junio de 1936), págs. 693-694.

¹¹ June Callwood, op. cit., pág. xvi.

¹² Eric Waddell, op. cit., pág. 145.

¹³ Jacques Cotnam, "Americans Viewed Through the Eyes of French-Canadians", en *Journal of Popular Culture*, v. 10, núm. 4 (primavera de 1977), pág. 789; Susan Crean y Marcel Rioux, op. cit., pág. 80.

¹⁴ John T. Woods, "A Cultural Approach to Canadian Independence", en Wallace Gagne, ed., *Nationalism, Technology and the Future of Canada*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1976, págs. 79-80; Richard Collins, op. cit., págs. 193-194.

¹⁵ Frederick C. Turner, *The Dynamic of Mexican Nationalism*, Chapel Hill, N.C., University of North Carolina, 1968, págs. 389-391 y 394.

¹⁶ Charles F. Doran, *Forgotten Partnership: U.S.-Canada Relations Today*, Baltimore, Md., Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984, pág. 102.

¹⁷ Davidson Dunton, "The Response to Cultural Penetration", en H. Edward English, ed., *Canada-United States Relations*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1976, pág. 62.

¹⁸ Susan Crean y Marcel Rioux, op. cit., pág. 95; Charles F. Doran, op. cit., pág. 102.

¹⁹ Gerald M. Craig, op. cit., pág. 302.

²⁰ Susan Crean, *Who's Afraid of Canadian Culture?*, Toronto, General, 1976, pág. 8; Richard Collins, op. cit., págs. 328-329.

²¹ Neil Nevitte, "Nationalism, States and Nations", en Elliot J. Feldman y Neil Nevitte, eds., *The Future of North America: Canada, the United States, and Quebec Nationalism*, Cambridge, Mass., Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1979, pág. 353.

²² Jacques Cotnam, op. cit., págs. 785-786.

²³ Susan Crean y Marcel Rioux, op. cit., págs. 97-99.

²⁴ Mason Wade, "The Culture of French Canada", en Julian Park, ed., *The Culture of Contemporary Canada*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1957, págs. 394-395; Susan Crean y Marcel Rioux, op. cit., pág. 77; F.G. Crane, "What American Business Must Know about Canadian Culture", ponencia inédita, presentada en el Canadian-American Relations Colloquium, Western Michigan University, 1989, pág. 8.

²⁵ Yvan Lamonde, "American Cultural Influence in Quebec: A One-Way Mirror", en Alfred O. Hero, jr., y Marcel Daneau, eds., *Problems and Opportunities in U.S.-Quebec Relations*, Boulder, Col., Westview Press, 1984, págs. 109-110 y 112-115; Richard Collins, op. cit., pág. 192; Robert Bothwell, *Canada and the United States: The Politics of Partnership*, Toronto, University of Toronto, 1992, pág. 13.

²⁶ Además de estimular el desarrollo artístico entre los jóvenes quebequenses, constituyen un medio de comunicación mucho más potente y eficaz en términos de la difusión entre los miembros de la sociedad quebequense de aspectos y manifestaciones de su propia cultura, que en el caso de la programación típica transmitida por los canales de televisión en el resto de Canadá. Entrevistas con la señorita Marie-Claude Hansenne, consejera en comunicación, Direction des communications, Ministère des Communautés culturelles et del'Immigration, Gouvernement du Québec, y con el señor Gerald Leblanc, del periódico *La Presse*, realizadas por el autor en Montreal, 31 de agosto de 1993; Davidson Dunton, op. cit., págs. 66-67.

²⁷ Entrevistas con la señorita Marie-Claude Hansenne y Gerald Leblanc, op. cit.; Entrevista con los señores Alan Dudoit y Jean Labrie, del International Cultural Relations Bureau, Ministry of External Affairs and International Trade, Ottawa, Canadá, realizada por el autor, 24 de agosto de 1992. De hecho, aproximadamente el 80 por ciento de los hogares canadienses se encuentran ubicados en áreas situadas dentro del alcance de sistemas de cable que transmiten canales estadounidenses.

²⁸ Jacques Cotnam, op. cit., pág. 789.

²⁹ Richard P. Nielson, y Angela B. Nielson, op. cit., págs. 463 y 465; Eric Waddell, op. cit., pág. 149.

³⁰ J.M. Bumsted, "Canadian Culture in Peril, 1949-1961", en *The Beaver*, v. 71, núm. 1 (febrero-marzo 1991), pág. 21.

³¹ John T. Woods, op. cit., p. 89; Yvan Lamonde, op. cit., pág. 115; John Meisel, "Escaping Extinction: Cultural Defence of an Undefended Border", en D.H. Flaherty y W.R. McKercher, *Southern Exposure: Canadian Perspectives on the United States*, Toronto, McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1986, pág. 155.

³² John Meisel, op. cit., pág. 155; Eric Waddell, op. cit., págs. 147-149.

³³ Jacques Cotnam, op. cit., págs. 790-791; John Meisel, op. cit., págs. 155-156; Dennis H. Wrong, *American and Canadian Viewpoints*, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1955, págs. 54-55.

³⁴ Jorge A. Bustamante, "Frontera México-Estados Unidos: reflexiones para un marco teórico", en *Estudios sobre las culturas contemporáneas*, v. 4, núm. 11, pág. 28.

³⁵ John A. Price, op. cit., pág. 2; Margarita Nolasco, "Las identidades

nacionales en las fronteras", en *México indígena*, v. 3, núm. 14 (enero-febrero 1987), pág. 5; Jorge A. Bustamante, "Identidad, cultura nacional y frontera", en Amelia Malagamba, coord., *Encuentros. Los Festivales Internacionales de la Raza*, México, CREA-SEP-COLEF, 1988, pág. 11.

³⁶ Susan Crean y Marcel Rioux, op. cit., pág. 93.

³⁷ John Sloan Dickey y Whitney H. Shepardson, *Canada and the American Presence: The United States Interest in an Independent Canada*, New York, New York University Press, 1975, págs. 98-99; Davidson Dunton, op. cit., pág. 72; Steven Globerman, *Cultural Regulation in Canada*, Montreal, The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1983, pág. xviii.

³⁸ Dennis H. Wrong, op. cit., pág. 55; Jeniva Berger, "Mirror, Mirror, On the Wall—Whose Identity is it Anyway?", ponencia inédita presentada en el Canadian-American Relations Colloquium, Western Michigan University, 1989, pág. 7; Davidson Dunton, op. cit., pág. 73; June Callwood, op. cit., pág. 311.

³⁹ Gerald M. Craig, op. cit., pág. 290.

⁴⁰ Yvan Lamonde, op. cit., pág. 121.

⁴¹ Los "informes blancos", o *white papers*, son pronunciamientos oficiales de política emitidos por un gobierno. Normalmente, constituyen la base para la elaboración posterior de actas de legislación.

⁴² René Levesque, "Quebec Independence", en Elliot J. Feldman y Neil Nevitte, eds., op. cit., pág. 63.

⁴³ Québec. Ministère des Affaires Culturelles. *Quebec's Cultural Policy: Our Culture, Our Future*, Quebec, Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, s.f., págs. 22-27.

⁴⁴ El gobierno de Quebec ha editado, por ejemplo, varios folletos dirigidos al público con este propósito, tales como el *Lexique des Légumes* y el *Lexique des Fruits*. *The Gazette*, Montreal, 1.º de septiembre de 1992.

⁴⁵ Eric Waddell, op. cit., pág. 150.

⁴⁶ Los críticos conservadores, encabezados frecuentemente por la Iglesia, hacen hincapié en lo que denominan el aspecto "licencioso" de la "americanización" de México; para ellos, la creciente prevalencia del divorcio y de las uniones libres, la educación sexual en las escuelas, etc., son factores contribuyentes, junto con la modernización en general, al debilitamiento de los valores familiares y religiosos. Alicia Castellanos Guerrero y Gilberto López y Rivas, op. cit., págs. 79-81; Jorge G. Castañeda y Robert A. Pastor, *Límites en la amistad: México y Estados Unidos*, México, Joaquín Mortiz/Planeta, 1989, págs. 413-414.

⁴⁷ José G. Moreno de Alba, "Observaciones sobre el español en la frontera norte de México", en Roque González Salazar, comp., op. cit., págs. 86-87 y 90.

⁴⁸ Alicia Castellanos Guerrero y Gilberto López y Rivas, op. cit., págs. 69 y 72; José Carlos Lozano, *El Día de la Coneja en Nuevo Laredo: influencia y rediseño de una tradición norteamericana*, Nuevo Laredo, Tamps., Facultad de Comercio y Administración de Nuevo Laredo, Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas, 1991 (Cuadernos de la Facultad, núm. 6), págs. 7-9.

⁴⁹ Jorge A. Bustamante, "Identidad, cultura nacional y frontera", op. cit., pág. 11.

⁵⁰ René Levesque, op. cit., págs. 61-62.

⁵¹ Peter Alexis Gourevitch, "Quebec Separatism in Comparative Perspective", en Elliot J. Feldman y Neil Nevitte, eds., op. cit., pags. 242-243; Gerald M. Craig, op. cit., págs. 285-286, 293 y 302-303.

⁵² *New York Times*, 4 de diciembre de 1988, pág. 16; Richard Collins, op. cit., pág. 197; Richard L. Barton, *Ties That Bind in Canadian/American Relations: Politics of News Discourse*, Hillsdale, N.J., Lawrence Erlbaum, Associates, 1990, pág. 128.

⁵³ Paul Audley, *Canada's Cultural Industries: Broadcasting, Publishing, Records and Film*, Ottawa, Canadian Institute for Economic Policy, 1983, pág. xxiv; Susan Crean y Marcel Rioux, op. cit., pág. 95.

⁵⁴ Humberto Félix Berumen, "Identidad cultural y TLC en la frontera norte", y Joseph Hodara, "¿Cambiará el TLC los códigos culturales de México?", en *Esquina Baja*, núm. 13 (abril-junio 1992), pág. 34.

Boca de Potrerillos and the Prehistory of Northeastern Mexico

Wm. Breen Murray*

Resumen

Este artículo describe los nuevos hallazgos arqueológicos en el sitio de Boca de Potrerillos, Mcpo. de Mina, N.L. y sus implicaciones para la reconstrucción de la prehistoria del Noreste de México. Los hallazgos demuestran la ocupación del sitio desde 7000 B.P., y cambios importantes en el medio ambiente local indicativos de mayor pluviosidad y la activación consecuente de las cuencas hidrológicas locales durante ciertos períodos prehistóricos. Durante estos tiempos, el noreste mexicano no hubiera funcionado como barrera ambiental entre Mesoamérica y regiones más al norte, y abre la posibilidad de contactos culturales entre las dos zonas. Estos datos concuerdan con los estudios del arte rupestre de Boca de Potrerillos, que incluyen motivos mesoamericanos y evidencia de conocimientos astronómicos compartidos.

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I. Introduction: Northeast Mexico in Prehistory

Despite its geographical contiguity to Mesoamerica and strategic location astride prehistoric corridors to central and eastern North America, the area of Northeastern Mexico (comprising the states of

Nuevo León, eastern Coahuila, and northern Tamaulipas) has received very little archaeological attention, and remains one of the least known parts of the continent in prehistory (cf. Reboloso 1991). In the 1960's Jeremiah Epstein of the University of Texas and his students excavated four widely separated sites in Nuevo León (Epstein 1962, 1972; Nance 1992 McClurkhan 1980), and located many others. Although subsequent field surveys have filled in some gaps, no new site excavations have been undertaken in Nuevo León since then, and comparable studies do not exist for the adjoining areas of Coahuila and Tamaulipas.

Reasons for the archaeological neglect of Northeast Mexico are complex, and raise some troublesome questions in both archaeological theory and practice. More important for this exposition are its distorting effects on the reconstruction of the region's prehistory and its broader relations to the North American continent in different prehistoric time periods.

The lack of archaeological data has fostered what might be called the 'Chichimec' image, derived mainly from Aztec and Spanish historical sources, which stresses the cultural backwardness of the North Mexican hunter-gatherers in comparison to civilized Mesoamerican agriculturalists. For some members of the archaeological community, this notion has converted Northeast Mexican prehistory into a self-fulfilling prophecy. No work is needed there because in terms of cultural evolution, it was always a backwater peripheral to the development of Mesoamerica. This premise has several negative effects on archaeology. One of them is that the full technical resources of modern archaeology have never been systematically applied to the remains which do survive. Another is that the imposed silence has isolated Northeast Mexico from changes in archaeological theory and interests during the intervening decades, leaving it unrelated to new finds and interpretations in adjacent regions, and in some instances freezing debate around issues no longer of great concern to prehistorians.

These impediments rest on misconceptions which must be questioned and corrected before new work can proceed. While the ethnohistoric sources contain much valuable information, their limitations and biases are also plainly evident, and their applicability to the longer time range revealed by archaeology is highly questionable.

While it is true the region was inhabited throughout prehistoric times by hunter-gatherers, and there are no great ruins in Northeast Mexico, this does not diminish our interest in their lifeways, or the relevance of their archaeological remains for broader issues being discussed in hunter-gatherer studies (cf. Myers 1988).

One example from Epstein's earlier fieldwork illustrates how distortions can arise. The Chichimec image rests on the assumption that today's semi-arid environmental conditions prevailed throughout prehistory, but one of Epstein's earliest discoveries was that one or more massive prehistoric hydrological events had wiped out practically all early stratified deposits on the Gulf coastal plain. This led him to concentrate his later fieldwork in the intermontane valleys of the Sierra Madre Oriental. (The same notion has also guided subsequent field surveys and archaeological reconnaissance, and in general the site of Boca de Potrerillos, Mcpo. de Mina, N.L., on which this report will focus, fits his predicted conditions.) In Cueva de Derrumbes, near Linares, N.L. this event left a layer of gravel over 1m thick and was radiocarbon-dated by occupation layers above and below it to about 3000 B.C. Pollen studies (Bryant & Riskind 1980) showed that in the Sierra Madre Oriental it was accompanied by a substantial expansion of forest cover to lower elevations for the next 600 years, after which drier conditions returned.

Modern paleoclimatologists now associated this event with a worldwide climatic interval which altered planetary atmospheric circulation in specific ways, and affected each geographical region differently. Epstein was unable to find sites which traced these effects in adjoining areas, or provided information on other time periods. Nevertheless, his work clearly establishes the relevance of climatic change and the existence of 'time windows' in which the regional environment was substantially altered from present-day conditions. This observation is critical for the new hypotheses deriving from more recent fieldwork which will be presented here.

II. The Boca de Potrerillos Site

New data from the site of Boca de Potrerillos, Mcpo. of Mina, N.L. (Turpin, Eling & Valadez 1992; in press) fills in some of these gaps, and suggests a more complex archaeological context in Northeast Mexico than has been previously assumed. This data comple-

ments and agrees with a field survey of rock art sites in the region undertaken by the author since 1977 (Murray 1979, 1992b), and an I.N.A.H. survey of rock art sites carried out for the Atlas Arqueológico project (Valdez n.d.). These surveys raise doubts about several assumptions underlying the Chichimec image and demand a reformulation of the problems of Northeast Mexican prehistory. Clearly, more archaeological work needs to be done, and any such reformulation at this time is bound to be premature. Nevertheless, some general outlines can be discerned, and can serve as an interim guide to the new questions which must now be confronted.

The site of Boca de Potrerillos is strategically located about 50km northwest of Monterrey in a semi-arid intermontane valley of the Sierra Madre Oriental. This mountain chain crosses Northeast Mexico in a practically unbroken line from the Pánuco river valley to the Monterrey area, forming a natural rampart between the Gulf coastal plain and the upland Meseta Central. North of Monterrey, the sierras bend westward and are bisected by broader inter-connecting alluvial valleys providing more gradual descents from the interior uplands. Boca de Potrerillos lies astride one of these interior drainage systems at a point not far from its entrance into the Rio Salinas drainage, which is in turn the first easily negotiated connection between uplands and lowlands north of the Pánuco river. Because of its low gradient, this valley now serves as the rail route between Monterrey and Torreón, Coahuila. Its prehistoric importance is marked by several large petroglyph concentrations at its upland entrance on the Coahuila-Nuevo León state border (Cerro La Bola, Cerro Ramos and the Presa de La Mula area) and at key points in the lower canyons, especially Icamole (Murray 1985) and Boca de Potrerillos (Murray 1982a: 1992b).

The modern environment of the Mina region is a semi-desertic extension of the interior Chihuahuan desert, and sustains only a small population dedicated primarily to cattle and goat herding. Lying in the rain shadow of 1500m crests to the east which block off the prevailing Gulf moisture, rainfall averages only 200-300mm annually. Natural springs are scarce, and stream flow is intermittent. No natural bodies of standing water exist anywhere in the region, and even artificial ponds for watering stock dry up periodically. Desertification in the immediate vicinity of the Boca site has been further

accentuated as recently as the 1950's by the construction of an aquaduct and deep-well system to supply drinking water to the growing Monterrey urban area (Cf. Murray 1993b).

Both historical and archaeological data suggest that the present aridity could represent a climatic extreme, and during some earlier time periods prehistoric inhabitants might have found both permanent streams and standing bodies of water in the Mina area. In these wetter periods the intermontane valleys could have become attractive routes for inter-regional communication and exchange between the coastal lowlands and the interior. Archaeological evidence for such exchanges was already noted as far inland as the Laguna region of Coahuila, more than 400km from the Gulf coast (Heartfield 1975, Epstein 1990), but has remained anomalous for lack of archaeological data from the intervening region.

The better-watered environment might also have supported somewhat larger and more sedentary populations than are assumed to have been characteristic throughout prehistory. This possibility agrees well with both the large number of rock art sites now detected in the region (more than 50 in the municipio of Mina alone), and the great extension of some of them, one of the largest of which is Boca de Potrerillos.

Boca de Potrerillos lies at about 700m elevation and occupies about 2km of a crest ridge (identified as Sierra de Antrisco on Mexican topographical maps) on each side of a canyon mouth, and at least 6km² of the adjacent valley floor. Within this area an estimated 3000 petroglyphs have been identified in four associated zones, making it the largest concentration of rock art in the state of Nuevo León. (Modern vandalism has also taken its toll, and the original number of petroglyphs may have been even larger.) In addition, more than 200 fire pits (*fogones*) of several different types have been detected so far on the valley floor behind and in front of the crest. While their exact use is still uncertain, they are often associated with portable metates which appear to relate to food processing activities (Turpin et al op cit). Finds of late prehistoric pottery fragments near one fire pit are the first documented in situ evidence of ceramics in the region.

Charcoal samples from recently exposed fire pits have provided radiocarbon dates ranging from 7000 B.P. to early historic times (Turpin, Pers. Commun.), and the earliest occupation of the site may

still be undetected. They suggest repeated and perhaps continuous use of the site over a broad post-Pleistocene time period. Despite its present-day abandonment, the prehistoric importance of Boca de Potrerillos seems indisputable, and demands an initial reconsideration of regional population distribution and cultural complexity in prehistory.

III. Intermontane Settlement Patterns

In keeping with the Chichimec image, reconstructions of prehistoric settlement patterns in Northeast Mexico have typically envisioned small highly mobile bands as a response to the scanty and scattered seasonal subsistence available. Taylor (1972) established this congruence between archaeology and ethnohistory most persuasively based on his excavations in central Coahuila. According to his model of 'tethered nomadism', prehistoric hunter-gatherer bands were tied to a secure permanent water source in order to survive the driest periods of the year. The band then made short temporary movements out from this base to exploit specific food resources as they became available.

This model of territoriality agrees well with the archaeological picture and environment Taylor found in the interior drainages of central Coahuila (Taylor 1966), but certain additional details in the early colonial accounts of Nuevo León raise doubts about its applicability in the intermontane drainages. In the Monterrey area, band territorial borders were marked and permission was required to enter another band's territory (Alonso de León 1649). This heightened territoriality may reflect greater population density at the time of contact. Cabeza de Vaca's itinerary through nearby regions a century earlier seems to have agglomerated even larger numbers, and lends further support to this notion.

While the 'tethered nomadism' pattern may be applicable in some time periods when the intermontane drainage systems were least active, the corridor valleys offer other subsistence opportunities if and when the hydrological regime is activated. Movement up and down the valleys along the stream courses would be secure, and would allow exploitation of more varied seasonal food resources than a radially-based pattern centered on an isolated water source. Base locations would be at points along these stream drainages where water

accumulated, or was most abundant, and might even allow for a semi-sedentary pattern of seasonal transhumance similar to that still practiced by many Rarámuri in the canyons of the Sierra Tarahumara in Chihuahua today. Such a pattern need not imply the development of agricultural cultivation (no such archaeological evidence has appeared so far), but certainly does not exclude even this possibility, as the Rarámuri analogy indicates.

The relative size and distribution of rock art sites in the Mina region and adjoining eastern Coahuila suggests that at least in some prehistoric time periods, these intermontane drainages were much more active than today, and the scenario described above may be a more accurate description of population distribution than Taylor's 'tethered' nomadism. The largest rock art sites, like Boca de Potrerillos, are many times the size of the smaller ones, and are all located at key points in the hydrological system where flowing water would be most readily available. Moreover, these wetter periods may have filled some nearby interior drainages, which would provide more constant runoff from natural springs, and additional food options like those described by colonial sources in the Laguna region of Coahuila.

The environmental data from the Boca de Potrerillos survey (Turpin et al 1992) permit a tentative reconstruction of conditions during these hydrologically active periods. The climatic alteration is dramatically illustrated by an extensive sandy alluvial plain extending upstream from the canyon mouth for over a km. which contrasts sharply with the stony gravel surface on the adjoining slopes. The presence of freshwater snails and pollen of aquatic plants in buried levels of this alluvium demonstrates that in some periods the crest ridge acted as a natural dam which emponded water upstream for some distance, and sustained a rich and varied assortment of plant resources which were exploited by the prehistoric inhabitants. Pollen samples testify to the presence of abundant grass cover nearby and scattered trees on the slopes. Grinding equipment (portable metates) were found in association with buried hearths, and confirm human exploitation of these resources.

Needless to say, this reconstructed paleoenvironment contrasts so sharply with the modern one that one is tempted to beg incredulity. Nevertheless, the anomaly is resolved in great measure by taking into account its relation to global climatic trends. In climatic

terms northeastern Mexico lies in a zone where relatively small shifts in latitudinal weather patterns, placing the area more directly in the path of temperate westerlies or sub-tropical jet streams for longer periods of the year, for example, might significantly increase annual rainfall. Even today, rainfall is sufficient to sustain a relatively dense forest cover on the Sierra Madre slope 50km to the south, as well as scattered forest pockets on the sierras directly to the east of the Mina region. At present, the city of Monterrey marks the point of transition from continuous to discontinuous forest. A shift of less than 100km in latitudinal weather patterns would create conditions at Boca de Potrerillos which could activate the hydrological system, and produce the econiche now identified archaeologically.

This new ecological framework does not assume that the desert was periodically transformed into a sub-tropical paradise. Because the Gulf of Mexico is the most proximate source of moisture, and Boca de Potrerillos lies in the immediate shadow of the highest sierras to the east, it must have always been somewhat drier than the surrounding region. Drought-resistant species such as mesquite and cactacea appear to have flourished in association with wetter-adapted ones, probably on the better drained slopes and exposed rock crests nearby. Rather, in the wetter periods, the ecosystem becomes more rich and varied by the appearance of riverine and lacustrine elements which enhance food alternatives and provide greater subsistence security. The uniqueness of this ecosystem is well established by the fact that about half the pollen samples are still not identified in modern sample collections.

Curiously enough, this environmental reconstruction agrees well with the earliest ethnohistoric accounts of the region. Alonso de León's rhapsodic description of the flora and fauna of mid-17th century Nuevo León has often been dismissed as merely exaggerated propaganda by an overly enthusiastic promoter. A closer inspection of his account reveals that the cold winters he describes are really just the local manifestations of another global shift to a wetter (and cooler) climate which is now well documented (Ladurie 1983), the final phase of which happens to coincide with the Spaniards' arrival. Colonial references to abundant springs and permanent streams in which fishing was important, extensive grass cover in front of the Sierra Madre, and large herds of deer and antelope in the sierra uplands all

document ecosystemic transformations which occurred when climatic change activated the hydrological system. Alonso de León may not have understood much about the more subtle features of Native culture, but his environmental data are based on long residence and extensive travel throughout the region, and there seems little reason to doubt its essential accuracy. Apparent exaggerations become hard evidence for the climatic changes now detected archaeologically, and more recent climatic trends, coupled with the effects of historically documented over-grazing and deforestation, can account for the disparities between Alonso de León's account and modern conditions.

IV. The Mesoamerican Connection

An important consequence of recognizing the temporal variability of the environment is that it destroys the supposedly intransitable Mesoamerican frontier, and introduces the possibility of north-south cultural diffusion. Evidence for Mesoamerican influences in Native North American cultures is varied (Cf. Reyman 1978; Fall 1991), and suggests a complex pattern of contacts varying in intensity over time between the two areas. On the other hand, specific examples of contact have often foundered on the lack of archaeological evidence in the intervening regions of Northern Mexico, requiring prehistorians to make a 'leap of faith' across these hostile arid lands in order to affirm Mesoamerican influences. If parts of this zone were not so hostile during given 'time windows', communication might have been fairly easy, and Northeast Mexico in no way constituted a barrier between Mesoamerica and the center of the North American continent.

The Mesoamerican cultural presence in Northeast Mexico evidently did not involve colonization like that which the Spanish undertook with the Tlascaltecs in the colonial period, and may have occurred in prehistory along the interior slopes of the Sierra Madre Occidental (Peschard et al). Nevertheless, all the great Mesoamerican centers, especially Teotihuacan and Tula, appear to have developed far-flung trading and procurement networks. To date, no archaeological evidence of direct Mesoamerican trade contacts, such as are found at Paquimé, Chih. for example, have appeared anywhere in Northeast Mexico, but if such trade were based on perishable items, its

archaeological traces might be exceedingly tenuous and hard to detect. Moreover, Toltec spindle whorls found in South Texas (Hester 1980: 128 ff) could have reached that area via interior routes, rather than coastal trade, and be part of the missing evidence. The assumption of geographical aversion to the region or excessively high risks is not justified, given what we already know about the extent of Mesoamerican trade in all directions.

In Northeast Mexico, the Mesoamerican presence is so far most clearly revealed in the ideological realm. Our survey of Northeast Mexican rock art sites has identified several motifs which are shared with Mesoamerica. They provide further clues into the nature of this contact, and include the footprint used in Teotihuacan murals and later codices to represent journeys, identified at Cerro Ramos and at Cañada Marrón in the Presa de La Mula area; an elaborate stepped-fret *greca* motif at nearby Cerro La Bola, near Paredón, Coah.; as well as solar and lunar symbols very similar to those in the Mesoamerican codices on the north crest at Boca de Potrerillos. Direct comparisons with Mesoamerican petroglyphic motifs are hampered by limited documentation of central Mexican rock art sites (Krupp 1992), but include at least one triple concentric dot configuration at Cerro La Bola (Murray 1984) very like the pecked circles at Xihuingo (Aveni 1989a; Wallrath et al 1991), an obsidian processing center contemporaneous with nearby Teotihuacán, and other Mesoamerican sites (Aveni et al 1978).

The whole complex of petroglyphic dot configurations at Xihuingo is strikingly similar to perhaps the most intriguing Mesoamerican link discovered so far, the dot and tally configurations belonging to what we have called the Northeast Mexican petroglyphic counting tradition (Murray 1982; 1986). The most complex example of this tradition is the petroglyphic tally count stone at Presa de La Mula, N.L. (illustrated in Hadingham 1984:91; Aveni 1989b:72), which according to present reconstruction of its counting pattern records seven lunar synodic months (207 days). It includes special markings around the 148 and 177-day lunar eclipse intervals also noted in the Dresden Codex. The petroglyphs are simple accumulative tally counts, and do not combine the bar-and-dot to represent placevalue notations as in the Mesoamerican system, but a 207-dot tally at Boca de Potrerillos (illustrated in Murray 1982a) shows that

both symbols were used independently to record the same information.

Further surveys have located many other examples of both lunar synodic and sidereal time-recording, as well as portable artifacts from the Texas Gulf Coast which may be related to the same tradition (Murray 1984). The iconographic similarity between the Northeast Mexican petroglyphic counting tradition and Mesoamerican counting seems unmistakable, and is one of the strongest arguments in favor of their numerical interpretation. How widely this interpretation can be applied to dot petroglyphs beyond the Northeast Mexican region remains to be seen, but proximity to Mesoamerica makes counting a plausible explanation of these enigmatic and often-overlooked petroglyphic motifs in this specific area.

The recording of both synodic months (lunar phases) and sidereal periods (i.e. the moon's position against the background of stars) also indicates a cultural ability to discriminate observationally between the solar, lunar and sidereal celestial motions. This does not imply that the motives for such observations were scientific, or that they were made by full-time specialists like the modern astronomer. They do suggest that skywatching led to systematic observations of these motions at least over the full annual cycle.

There can be little doubt the counting petroglyphs were made by hunter-gatherers. The length of time recorded at Boca de Potrerillos and La Mula (207 days) is also a fair approximation of the gestation period of the whitetail doe, which is 205-212 days, and deer antler petroglyphs and other hunting motifs are closely associated with the counts, especially at La Mula (Murray 1992a). Only future archaeological work can determine whether this tradition is parallel or ancestral to the Mesoamerican one, but the centrality of deer symbolism points to important archaeological analogies both in Texas (Shafer 1986) and northern Mexico (cf. Avelleyra et al 1956), and ethnographic analogies with several North Mexican native ethnic groups which could provide further relevant cultural context for these petroglyphs (Lumholtz (1901[1986])).

Although the petroglyphic count could be a formulaic expression, if it were actually made as a day-by-day tally, it would imply a degree of sedentarism more in keeping with a transhumant pattern than a fully nomadic one. This suggests that the counting petroglyphs

were made during periods when the hydrological system was active, and a denser, more sedentary occupation could be sustained through intensive exploitation of locally-available riverine and lacustrine food resources. Since neither the petroglyphs nor the hydrologically active periods can be dated at this time, this congruence remains elusive, but the internal evidence of the rock art alone tends to confirm its existence, and challenges archaeologists to identify other material links more precisely.

V. Sky-Watching at Boca de Potrerillos

Boca de Potrerillos also contains spatial evidence which defines deeper cultural relations to the Mesoamerican world view. Some of its rock art motifs appear to form part of a marking system for observing celestial horizon events, and the site itself may have been chosen in part to take advantage of its orientational potential (cf. Murray 1993a).

Two broad characteristics of the site—one natural and one cultural—support this interpretation. First, the north and south crests at Boca have a natural orientation to cardinal north-south which could be observationally confirmed any night by noting circumpolar stellar motion. This direction appears to be petroglyphically marked on both crests. Secondly, all of the petroglyphs are carved on the east-facing side of the crests, despite the fact that perfectly suitable (and substantially identical) rock surfaces are equally available on the west-facing slopes too. This cultural preference can hardly be accidental, and links petroglyph-making in some way to something happening on the eastern horizon, the rising horizon in celestial terms.

The sighting system appears to use the irregular profiles of rock monoliths and exposed crests as foresights viewed against the background profile of the distant sierras. These sierras rise 7-20km away, and provide an irregular horizon with long sightlines in all directions, ideal far more observing celestial horizon phenomena with precision. Petroglyphs are densely carved on these rock faces, and many of their motifs can be interpreted as schematic representations of the horizon events being observed. These motifs include zig-zag lines or chains of triangles which could represent the horizon itself, single circles sometimes in close association with these horizon lines which could represent the sun or moon, and concentric circles with

varying numbers of rings which could represent cyclical observations of a given phenomena. Geometrically-ordered dot configurations of various types, some of which count lunar periods, are also often closely associated, and suggest a link between counting and sky-watching. Examples of super-positioning establish that at least some of the counts are older than the horizon motifs, and that a conceptual transition from daycounting to longer-term horizon observation may have taken place.

On a rock promontory about 500m directly upstream behind the canyon mouth, there is a dense petroglyph cluster which may be almost exclusively related to sky-watching. Nearly all of the petroglyphs in this zone are simple circles or circles bisected by orienting lines, and several prominent protruding rocks have been heavily over-carved. Some of them align well with the equinox sunrise, which from this vantage point is observed over the canyon mouth with the nearby north and south crests as an additional foresight. A heavily carved rock on the tip of the north crest may have served as an additional sighting point, and defines an east-west axis which runs from the promontory across the entire site and completes a spatial matrix marking the cardinal directions.

Cardinal directional orientation is a prominent feature of many Mesoamerican constructions, and is richly represented in the written sources which have survived (Aveni 1980). It is also shared with many Native North American cultures, such as the Pawnee (Chamberlain 1981) and Hopi (McCluskey 1993), where its connections to equinox observations is well-established. Equinox-oriented temples are especially characteristic of the Central Mexican tradition (Ponce de León 1991), and contrast with traditions further south in Oaxaca and the Maya region where the zenith sun was also observed. Thus, we can infer that the ancient Mesoamericans conceptually differentiated between the two observational systems, and the evidence suggests that both systems were in simultaneous use at major Mesoamerican centers.

Boca de Potrerillos lies about 400km north of the Tropic, where horizon observations become the easiest way to mark time. Because of the unequal lengths of the seasons, the equinox can not be established simply by counting half-way from the solstices; observations are necessary in order to identify the cardinal east position. Once

defined, however, the equinox sunrise position could be noted very precisely because of the sun's rapid movement along the horizon at that time of year (almost a full solar diameter each day), especially using the long sight-lines available from the promontory zone. In this context, Boca de Potrerillos may have been a place where the potential for empirically determining the equinox as a marker of cardinal east by combining horizon observation and time-reckoning was being explored.

So far, all of the astronomical counts recognized at Boca record lunar synodic and sidereal periods, so we infer that some kind of lunar calendar was in use. Many of the dot configurations do not fit lunar periods, however, and must represent either some other celestial period or a parallel use of the dot motif in some other context. The first possibility would be more congruent with the overall context of the site, but can not be demonstrated at this time, and given the evident utility of numeracy for many different tasks, the second possibility remains equally plausible.

The celestial sighting system reflected in the promontory zone may provide additional clues which can resolve the issue. The petroglyphs there point clearly to other observational targets besides the equinox sunrise, and indicate a more complex observational pattern. Several prominently carved rock outcrops and monoliths appear to be oriented to the western (setting) horizon, some of them marking due west. The most prominent rock monolith points to the peak of Caja Pinta which protrudes just above a nearby crest at Az 2730. Taking into account the 70 horizon elevation, it would mark sunset on about April 3 and September 9 respectively, just shortly after the spring equinox, and again shortly before the fall equinox. It also lies within the range of planetary setting positions, such as Venus in its evening star phase, and moonsets, both of which might have in conjunction with an equinox sunset, and could mark the settings of prominent star groups, such as the constellation Orion and the Pleiades, which served as temporal markers of the event.

Interest in the setting positions of stars and star groups is indicated by petroglyphic marking of horizon positions beyond the zodiacal band both at the promontory and on the crests. Lacking any relevant ethno-historical information, it is nearly impossible to identify which star groups were recognized by the Native inhabitants from

the *post hoc* archaeological evidence of the alignments alone, or their possible representation in the petroglyphs. Cabeza de Vaca notes the existence of such a system for time-reckoning along the Texas Gulf Coast, and a more comprehensive survey of the alignments marked at the Boca promontory zone may offer insights into still unsuspected aspects of its basis in sky-watching.

As stated earlier, the existence of a special-activity area for sky-watching like the promontory zone, oriented petroglyphs and lunar counting does not imply that such activities were carried out by specialists for the sake of pure knowledge like the modern science of astronomy. All of the petroglyphs are highly accessible and eminently visible to any visitor, so they could not represent the arcane private wisdom of a privileged few. The large number of associated fire pits suggests rather that Boca de Potrerillos may have been a gathering place. According to ethnohistoric accounts (de León *op cit*), Native gatherings (called *mitotes*) sometimes attracted hundreds of participants from neighboring bands. These sources mention several different motives for such gatherings, and do not confirm any calendrically-regulated cycle for them. Nevertheless, given the hostile attitude of the Spaniards toward Native religion and the political and social disruption precipitated by their arrival, the absence of such mention is hardly conclusive.

Our present hypothesis is that Boca de Potrerillos functioned in some prehistoric periods as a central point for social reunion among neighboring groups. These gatherings were calendrically timed and ritually controlled, and may have included food-sharing as well as other social activities. Peyote ingestion and night-time communal dancing around bonfires are mentioned on these occasions in ethnohistoric sources.

The Rarámuri *tesguínada*, a ritual beer-drinking fiesta still widely practiced today in the Sierra Tarahumara (Kennedy 1963), may be a reasonably close ethnographic analogy to the prehistoric *mitotes* held at Boca de Potrerillos. Such gatherings are often linked to religious ritual which invokes a mythic cosmic dimension and may have been correlated with the movements of celestial bodies. Among the Christianized Rarámuri they have been assimilated to the Catholic celebration of Holy Week, but the Cora and Huichol traditions both preserve its preChristian form more clearly. Specific elements of

Huichol ritual iconography (Lumholtz 1986 [1901]) are repeated in the petroglyphs at Boca, as was noted by Olson (1981) in his survey of the north crest, and are shared with rock art sites in the Tomatlán valley which Mountjoy (1982; 1987) associates with Huichol ritual use. In both the Cora and Huichol traditions, religious ritual includes symbolic references to the eastern horizon, which fits the macro-orientation already noted at Boca de Potrerillos. Moreover, the petroglyphic antler representations already noted and the presence of peyote at many rock art sites provide other cultural links with the surviving Native traditions of several North Mexican indigenous groups.

These ethnographic analogies do not necessarily imply specific migrations—prehistoric or historic—as an earlier generation of prehistorians saturated in the Aztec chronicles was wont to envision. They may refer rather to a wider context of shared beliefs than a specific event or events. This shared tradition may correspond more closely to the cultural grouping into Uto-Aztecan and Coahuiltecan linguistic families than to the archaeological traditions now recognized in North Mexican prehistory, or any specific ethnic groups mentioned in the ethnohistoric and ethnographic record.

Nor do they demonstrate any specific and prolonged contacts in Northeast Mexico which altered the basic hunting and gathering economy. All of the cosmic symbols noted in the petroglyphs are associated with equally evident representations of atlatls, projectile points and animal tracks related to the huntergatherer way of life. This does not rule out the possibility that economic exchange motivated the contact. Many recent studies have pointed out the complementarities which develop between agricultural and hunter-gatherer societies (Myers 1988), and again the lack of specific archaeological evidence to this effect is not conclusive. Nevertheless, cultural similarities are more evident in the symbolic and ideological realm than in the economic one.

The nature of this shared belief system, the relation of petroglyph-making to it, and its specific social context are still not clear, but some hint of its existence is implied in our earliest ethnohistoric source, Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufraios*. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions escaped from captivity by assuming the role of shamanic healers, and their miraculous successes testify to the force

of a widely-diffused tradition which provided them a secure passport from group to group. Their assimilation to a millennial myth of a White savior is also striking because of its parallels with known Aztec traditions, if our informant's testimony resists the criticism of recent analysts (Glantz et al 1993) and is taken at face value. The possibility that ideas may have been shared more widely than goods still seems strange to many archaeologists steeped in the tradition of material culture analysis, but ultimately it may be the secret which unlocks the archaeological record now emerging in Northeast Mexico.

Further research is planned at Boca de Potrerillos before the site is reopened for public visitation, and may provide a more precise chronology and additional cultural details about its prehistoric context. Other sites nearby await excavation, and a more intensive program of archaeological research throughout Northern Mexico should expand the bases for cultural comparisons.

The ultimate benefit of this effort will be a more integrated vision of North American prehistory which helps to line critical moments of interaction between Mesoamerica and the archaeological traditions further to the north. In this process, the intermontane region of Northeast Mexico could have played a more critical role than has so far been suspected.

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LA POLITICA COMERCIAL Y ANTIDROGAS EN LAREDO, TEXAS

José María Ramos*

Summary

This article analyzes the following trade and drug policies of the United States Customs Service in Laredo, Texas: the importance of commercial traffic in this border city, general background of the drug trade in Laredo, and working strategies and infrastructure of the Customs Service. The author offers some specific suggestions for better development of trade and drug policy in Laredo, Texas.

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Introducción

Este artículo analiza las políticas comercial y antidrogas que ejecuta el Servicio de Aduanas de Estados Unidos en la frontera de Laredo, Tx. El trabajo se estructura con los siguientes apartados: 1) Perfil económico-político—aquí se destaca la importancia económica de la ciudad de Laredo, Tx. y además se exponen algunos antecedentes del problema del narcotráfico en la frontera de esta ciudad con Nuevo Laredo, Tams. 2) Perspectivas de la integración económica y los cruces comerciales—en este apartado se discuten algunos escenarios sobre la ciudad de Laredo, Tx., en los próximos años, lo que se plantea en función de la influencia política de actores locales a nivel federal y de la relevancia que tiene dicha ciudad; y finalmente en función de las limitaciones que tiene Aduanas en la frontera de Laredo, Tx. 3) Recomendaciones—se exponen algunas propuestas para atender las limitaciones de Aduanas para desarrollar las políticas comercial y antidrogas en Laredo, Tx. El análisis presentado se basa en entrevistas a funcionarios de Aduanas en el distrito de Laredo, Tx. y en Washington, D.C. respectivamente. Igualmente, se emplearon algunas estadísticas oficiales de Aduanas de Estados Unidos y del U.S. Department of Commerce y reportes generados por la General Accounting Office en torno al papel de Aduanas en la frontera sur de

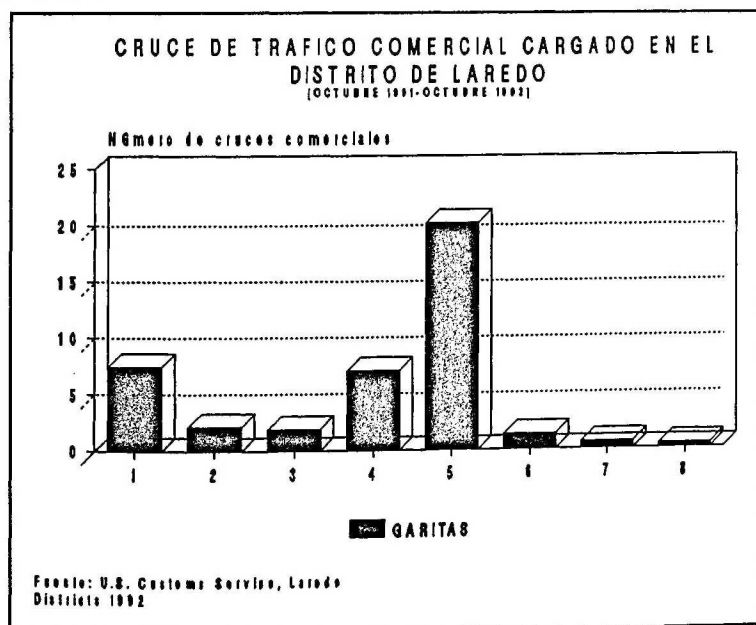
Estados Unidos. Finalmente, se recurrió a algunas fuentes hemerográficas.

Perfil Económico-Político

El distrito de Laredo, Tx. abarca 15 cruces fronterizos. Entre los más importantes están los de Brownsville-Matamoros, McAllen-Hidalgo-Reynosa, Laredo-Nuevo Laredo II (Lincoln-Juárez), Laredo-Nuevo Laredo I, Eagle Pass-Piedras Negras I y por último el de Del Rio-Ciudad Acuña. Este distrito es el más importante de los cuatro distritos fronterizos de Aduanas ubicados en el sur de Estados Unidos,—San Diego, Ca, Nogales, Az. y El Paso, Tx.—ya que concentra la mitad del tráfico comercial entre México y Estados Unidos (ver gráfica 1).¹ Lo que se manifiesta en el hecho de que en el año de 1990 el valor del tráfico comercial fue de cerca de 25.5 billones de dólares. Entre los principales productos de exportación están:

Partes para autos, productos de la industria maquiladora, alimentos y ganado.²

Gráfica 1



1) Brownsville
5) Laredo

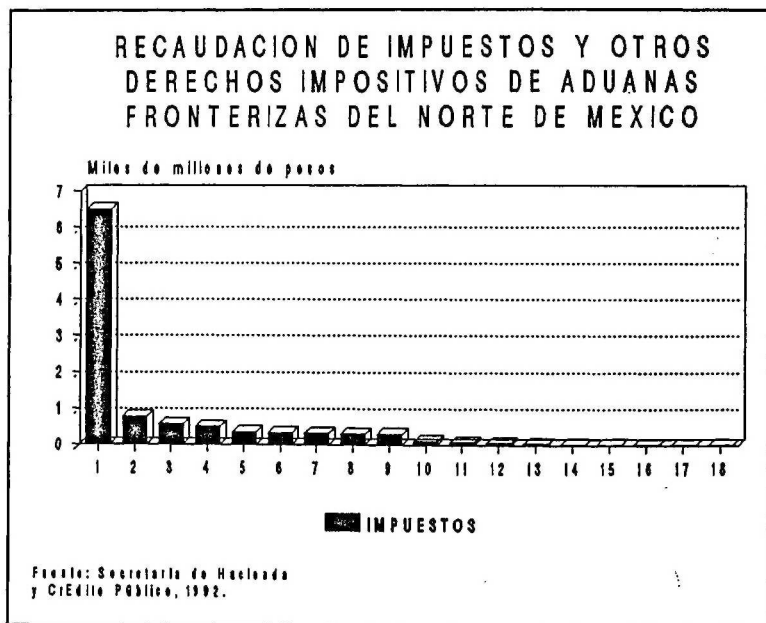
2) Del Rio
6) Progreso

3) Eagle Pass
7) Rio Grande

4) Hidalgo
8) Roma

La mayor parte de estos productos proceden del país, ya que el cruce de Laredo, Tx.-Nuevo Laredo, Tams. es la garita más cercana para los exportadores y consumidores mexicanos ubicados en la parte central de México. Por ello se estima que cerca del 38 por ciento del comercio exterior del país se realiza en este cruce comercial (ver gráfica 2). Lo que convierte a la garita de Nuevo Laredo, Tams. como la principal recaudadora de impuestos y otros derechos compensatorios por concepto de exportaciones para el gobierno federal mexicano. (Ver gráfica 2)

Gráfica 2



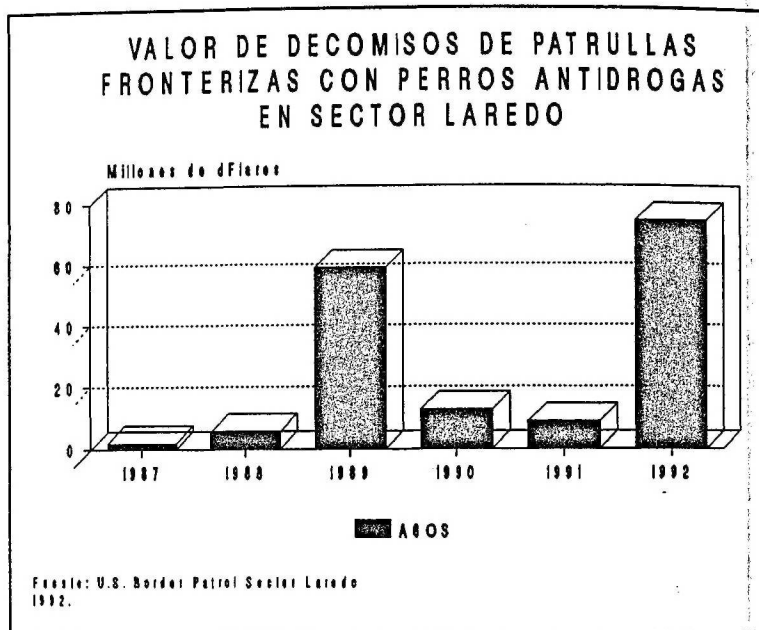
- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1) Nuevo Laredo, Tams. | 2) Matamoros, Tams. |
| 3) Cd. Juárez, Chih. | 4) Tijuana, B.C. |
| 5) Colombia, N.L. | 6) Mexicali, B.C. |
| 7) Piedras Negras, Coah. | 8) Nogales, Son. |
| 9) Reynosa, Tams. | 10) Tecate, B.C. |
| 11) Miguel Alemán, Tams. | 12) Cd. Acuña, Coah. |
| 13) Agua Prieta, Son. | 14) San Luis Rio Colorado, Son. |
| 15) Naco, Son. | 16) Ojinagua, Chih. |
| 17) Sonoyta, Son. | 18) Puerto Palomas, Chih. |

En el lado estadounidense, el tráfico comercial procedente de México es importante porque tal transporte tiene que pagar peaje por el uso de los puentes internacionales, ingresos que se destinan a la ciudad de Laredo, Tx. Esto justifica que el gobierno local muestre una constante preocupación sobre los problemas de demora del tráfico comercial y sus repercusiones económicas locales y regionales.³

La importancia sociopolítica del cruce de Laredo-Nuevo Laredo se relaciona con los antecedentes de integración del desarrollo urbano entre ambas ciudades, el papel de las autoridades locales en su mayoría de origen hispano- y la importancia del contrabando de drogas. Históricamente ha existido una estrecha relación económica entre los dos Laredos, que obedece a que antes de las separaciones limítrofes formales, la población mexicana se encontraba asentada en lo que hoy es la ciudad de Laredo, Tx. Esto permitió que en el transcurso de los años se iniciara un incipiente desarrollo urbano, en donde la población de ascendencia mexicana tuvo un papel relevante.⁴ Esta razón explica que la mayor parte de las autoridades locales sean de origen mexicano. Asimismo, el carácter que adquirió el desarrollo urbano de la ciudad de Laredo, Tx. en donde prácticamente la ciudad integró a la garita de cruce, ha influido para que los problemas que limitan la interacción económica fronteriza, repercutan en el crecimiento de Laredo, Tx. Esto ha favorecido que las autoridades locales constantemente se pronuncien sobre los factores que limitan una mayor interacción económica bilateral y que a su vez expresen propuestas para fomentar una mayor agilidad del cruce comercial.⁵

Finalmente, el contrabando de drogas es importante porque se estima que cerca de un 70 por ciento del flujo de drogas cruza por la frontera sureste de Estados Unidos.⁶ Esta situación obedece al hecho de que una parte importante del contrabando se interna a través del Golfo de México y posteriormente utiliza la frontera del mar los estupefacientes. La jerarquía que sentido tiene el cruce de Laredo, Tx. ha influido para que la Patrulla Fronteriza haya decomisado cantidades importantes de drogas en los últimos años (ver gráfica 3).

Gráfica 3



Desde el punto de vista social, la importancia que tiene el tráfico de drogas en la población de Nuevo Laredo, Tams.—en un nivel inferior que la ciudad de Matamoros, Tams.—ha provocado que ocasionalmente las inspecciones antidrogas en el tráfico comercial sean estrictas.⁷ En consecuencia, se dificulta lograr un balance entre los objetivos de Aduanas de promover la agilidad del tráfico comercial con un mejor control del contrabando de drogas. A pesar de que en este cruce se han desarrollado sistemas de inspección que pretenden aumentar los decomisos antidrogas con una mayor agilidad del tráfico comercial.⁸ Sin embargo, se puede afirmar que al igual que otros cruces fronterizos, Aduanas ha flexibilizado sus métodos de inspección antidrogas en favor de una mayor agilidad del tráfico comercial. En otras palabras, la importancia que tiene el tráfico comercial para la ciudad de Laredo, Tx. y el papel de las autoridades locales ha influido para que Aduanas otorgue más atención a los problemas que obstaculizan los flujos comerciales, a diferencia de lo que sucede en otras ciudades fronterizas.

En cambio la relación burocrática de Aduanas con el resto de las agencias federales involucradas en las políticas comercial y

antidrogas fronterizas, se puede caracterizar básicamente por los contactos de Aduanas con las autoridades locales de Laredo, Tx. y sus vínculos con el Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización (SIN). El primer tipo de nexos define uno de los rasgos principales de la política de Aduanas respecto al resto de los distritos. Aquí destaca una estrecha relación con las autoridades locales para abordar problemas relacionados con la agilidad de los cruces comerciales y de vehículos en general. Respecto a sus relaciones con el SIN, éstas siguen el patrón de las relaciones burocráticas. Es decir, una comunicación formal para la asignación de personal en el cruce vehicular, entrenamiento de personal e intercambio de información, aunque no se excluyen los conflictos burocráticos, que obedecen al interés de dichas agencias por conservar o incrementar poder.⁹

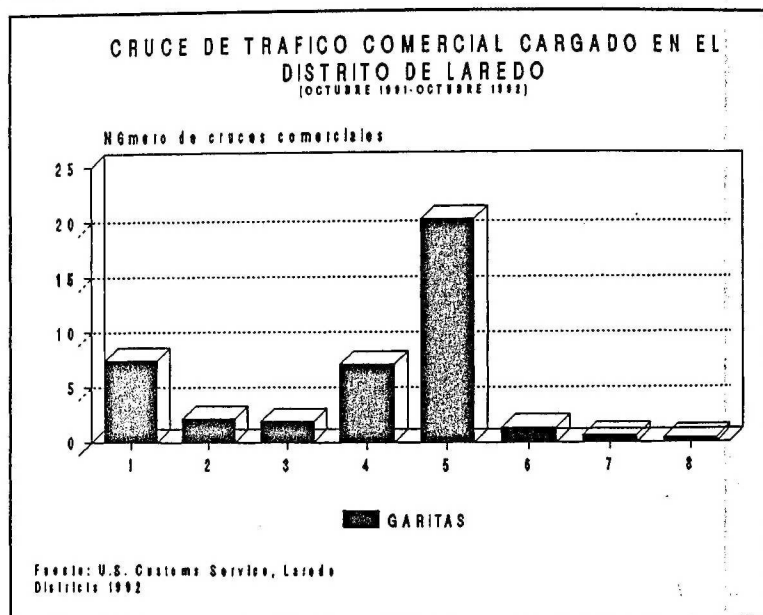
En cambio, las limitaciones que condicionan el desarrollo de las políticas antidrogas y comercial de Aduanas, no han provocado problemas graves. Sin embargo, las autoridades de Aduanas entrevistadas han reiterado—al igual que en otros cruces—que en la medida en que aumenten los cruces con el desarrollo de un Tratado de Libre Comercio (TLC) será necesario aumentar el personal, el equipo y la infraestructura física. En torno a este último problema, una de las limitaciones de Aduanas en este cruce es que la garita ya no puede expandirse debido a la falta de espacios físicos. Lo que se explica a que dicha agencia está prácticamente integrada a la ciudad, situación que no ocurre en el resto de los distritos aduanales fronterizos como son los de San Diego, Ca., Nogales, Az. y El Paso, Tx.

Perspectivas de la integración económica y los cruces comerciales

Tres factores definen la importancia del estado de Texas: Primero, abarca cerca de la mitad de la extensión geográfica de la frontera sur de Estados Unidos; además, concentra aproximadamente el 50 por ciento del comercio entre México y Estados Unidos—en términos del cruce y origen de exportaciones—(ver gráfica 4); y finalmente, es el único estado que colinda con cuatro estados mexicanos (Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León y Tamaulipas).¹⁰ Sin embargo, a pesar de estos antecedentes, la región sureste del estado de Texas es una de las más pobres en Estados Unidos, en términos de necesidades de infraestructura.¹¹ Esta contradicción se puede explicar por el

hecho de que las actividades en donde se concentra el dinamismo del crecimiento comercial,—cruces comerciales—no necesariamente generan eslabones productivos con el resto de las ciudades fronterizas del sur de Texas. Por ello, el crecimiento económico que ha generado la actividad comercial en Texas no ha provocado un mejor bienestar de la población del sur de ese estado.

Gráfica 4



La relevancia del estado de Texas ha favorecido que los actores gubernamentales y no gubernamentales del estado relacionados con la política de cruces fronterizos¹² tengan preocupación sobre los efectos del TLC en la frontera con México.¹³ Así, en función de las necesidades detectadas, éstas se podrían plantear oportunamente en Washington, D.C. En donde se percibe que a diferencia del estado de California, los legisladores federales del estado de Texas han mostrado más atención a influir en Washington sobre los problemas que ocurren en su región. En ese sentido, se podría pensar que el hecho de que el ex-senador por Texas Lloyd M. Bentsen sea el secretario del Departamento de Tesoro, y por lo cual, sea el responsable del funcionamiento de Aduanas, podría implicar una atención especial a los problemas que limitan el funcionamiento de dicha agencia fronteriza

en los cruces de Texas.¹⁴ Lo mismo podría pensarse del secretario de Vivienda y Desarrollo Urbano, Henry Cisneros—ex-alcalde de San Antonio, Tx.—de quien depende atender los problemas de infraestructura.¹⁵

En suma, el distrito de Laredo, Tx. comparte varios de los problemas que tienen el resto de los cruces fronterizos con México. Entre las diferencias importantes destacan que existe mayor interés de las autoridades locales por atender los problemas que provocan las demoras del tráfico comercial. Lo que ha influido para que estos actores mantengan una relación constante con funcionarios de Washington, D.C. Esto ha permitido una mayor atención del gobierno federal hacia los problemas locales. Esto ha solucionado algunas de las limitaciones económicas que existen en algunas ciudades del sureste de Texas.

Asimismo el problema de la infraestructura es importante porque a diferencia de otros cruces, en el caso de Laredo, Tx. ya no puede expandirse físicamente. Ante esta situación, uno de los retos para Aduanas será tratar de lograr una mayor eficiencia en los métodos de inspección comercial, paralelamente, con las acciones de decomisos antidrogas. Igualmente, una mejor coordinación tanto con las agencias estadounidenses como con las autoridades aduanales mexicanas favorecería un mejor desarrollo de las políticas comercial y antidrogas.

En este contexto, cabe discutir la propuesta de unificar los procedimientos de inspección aduanal en la frontera entre México y Estados Unidos, considerando que las dos aduanas desarrollan procedimientos similares. Con ello, se presume, se reducirían los tiempos de espera en ambos lados de la frontera. Esta propuesta es compleja, particularmente si se considera que Aduanas de Estados Unidos se opondría a los mecanismos de funcionamiento de Aduanas de México, tanto en los relacionados con la política comercial como en la política antidrogas. Además, debe mencionarse que si ambas Aduanas no han establecido mecanismos que permitan una mejor comunicación y coordinación entre ellas, resulta difícil esperar el acuerdo en varios aspectos que implica la unificación de procedimientos entre las dos Aduanas. Por lo anterior, otro de los retos de funcionarios

de Aduanas y de las autoridades locales de Laredo, Tx. será establecer estrategias que permitan lograr una mayor eficiencia en los métodos de inspección comercial con el control del narcotráfico.

Recomendaciones

Después de exponer las características principales de las políticas comercial y antidrogas de Aduanas de Estados Unidos en el cruce de Laredo, Tx., se puede deducir que si bien existen problemas comunes entre este cruce con el resto de los cruces comerciales fronterizos principales—San Diego, Ca., Nogales, Az. y El Paso, Tx.—y cuyas causas también son semejantes, existen aspectos específicos en cada ciudad fronteriza. Esto determina una problemática particular, por lo cual, las recomendaciones de política para atender las limitaciones de las políticas comercial y antidrogas fronteriza también deben contemplar tal singularidad. En términos generales, estas diferencias se explican porque el contexto económico y sociopolítico fronterizo es distinto en cada uno de los cruces. Lo que se refleja en el valor de las exportaciones en cada estado fronterizo con México. (Ver cuadro 2).

Cuadro 2

VALOR DE LAS EXPORTACIONES DE LOS ESTADOS FRONTERIZOS DEL SUR DE ESTADOS UNIDOS HACIA MEXICO (1987-1991)						
	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	Cambio Porcentual
Arizona *	573.0	713.0	734.0	831.0	938.0	63
California **	2.3	3.2	4.2	4.6	5.5	143
Nuevo México *	9.0	16.0	14.0	15.5	16.8	86
Texas **	6.5	9.3	11.0	13.0	15.0	132
Total **	9.4	13.2	15.9	18.4	21.5	129

* Millones de dólares

** Billones de dólares

Fuente: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1991.

Esta situación condiciona la influencia de los actores gubernamentales y no gubernamentales estadounidenses vinculados con las políticas comercial y antidrogas fronteriza. Lo que a su vez,

explica las diferencias del conflicto burocrático entre Aduanas y dependencias federales. Por ejemplo, en el caso de Laredo, Tx., las autoridades locales de la ciudad han tenido un papel importante en la solución de los cruces comerciales hecho que no ocurre en ninguna otra ciudad fronteriza. Lo que se explica entre otras razones porque las autoridades municipales proporcionaron la inversión principal en la construcción de los puentes internacionales entre Laredo, Tx. y Nuevo Laredo, Tams. Además, porque el desarrollo urbano de la ciudad de Laredo, Tx. prácticamente ha integrado el área de la Aduana estadounidense. No obstante, este crecimiento económico, en parte promovido por la actividad de los cruces comerciales, Laredo, Tx. es una de las ciudades con mayor nivel de pobreza en Estados Unidos. De aquí que uno de los retos del TLC en ciudades como Laredo, Tx. es tratar de lograr un equilibrio entre el crecimiento de los cruces comerciales y una menor desigualdad social.

En cuanto a la política antidrogas, se puede decir que las autoridades de Aduanas reconocen la importancia del narcotráfico en la región. ¿Igualmente, se nota que también existe en Aduanas una preocupación por evitar que las autoridades de Aduanas reconocen la importancia del narcotráfico en la región? Igualmente, se nota que también existe en Aduanas una preocupación por evitar que las acciones antidrogas se conviertan en un obstáculo en la agilidad comercial. Esta actitud también ha sido producto del rol de actores no gubernamentales de cada localidad y del reconocimiento gubernamental de la importancia de los vínculos económicos fronterizos. Por lo cual, es relevante seguir fomentando una participación activa de dichos actores para disminuir las demoras del tráfico comercial fronterizo.

En suma, las políticas antidrogas y comercial se desarrollan con diferencias en cada uno de los cruces fronterizos. Lo que explica que tales políticas no respondan totalmente a las prioridades establecidas en Washington, D.C. Este desfase, que obedece a razones de política regional y del contexto económico fronterizo, también está relacionado a un desinterés del gobierno federal por atender los problemas que limitan una mayor interacción económica vía cruces comerciales. Esto nos lleva a proponer que, en la medida

en que existan desajustes económicos a nivel nacional y un desconocimiento de los problemas fronterizos, se podría justificar que el gobierno federal estadounidense no otorgue el financiamiento necesario para atender los requerimientos expuestos—infraestructura, personal, presupuesto. Esta situación plantea a los actores gubernamentales y no gubernamentales fronterizos una serie de retos para desarrollar entre otras medidas mecanismos de influencia a nivel federal, el diseño de propuestas regionales que sean viables económica y políticamente y acuerdos concretos con actores gubernamentales y no gubernamentales fronterizos mexicanos. De lo contrario, los beneficios que traería el TLC, se limitarían en la frontera México-Estados Unidos.

Notas

¹Un análisis sobre el impacto del comercio mexicano en la economía de Texas lo expone M. Ray Perryman, en "The Impact of Mexican Trade on the Texas Economy: An Analysis of Current Patterns and Some Potential Effects of a Free Trade Agreement", en Regional Report By Baylor University, *Free Trade and the United States-Mexico Bordelands*, lo. julio 1991.

²Un indicador de la importancia comercial del cruce hecho de que durante el lapso de los años de 1986 a 1990 el tráfico comercial a través de este distrito aumentó en cerca de 73 por ciento. Véase U.S. General Accounting Office, (GAO), *U.S.-Mexico Trade: Concerns About the Adequacy of Border Infrastructure*, Report to the Chairman, Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, Mayo 1991, p 29.

³Algunos funcionarios de Laredo, Tx. involucrados con tales problemas son además del alcalde, el regente operativo, el regente administrativo relacionado con la apertura del puente Juárez-Lincoln; el director de transporte vinculado con la apertura de casetas de cobro; el director de sistemas de puentes responsable de la administración de puentes; el departamento de policía, que una de sus funciones es la de verificar las licencias de conducción en transportistas. Además, el Cabildo local tiene facultad sobre propuestas de eliminación y apertura de rutas del transporte comercial y cobros en los puentes.

⁴Se estima que un 26 por ciento del total de la población que vive en los estados fronterizos con México son de ascendencia hispana. En cambio, la población que vive en los condados adyacentes a la frontera se compone de un 41 por ciento de origen hispano. Igualmente, el 22 por ciento de la población fronteriza de California es hispana, en Arizona el 22 por ciento, mientras que en Nuevo Mexico el 55 por ciento y por último, en Texas la población fronteriza de origen hispana compone el 79 por ciento de la población. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1990.

⁵Este interés ha influido para que constantemente se organicen reuniones con autoridades o empresarios de Nuevo Laredo, Tams. y en donde también participan funcionarios del gobierno estatal, entre los que se encuentran la Comisión de Ferrocarriles de Texas y la Dirección de Asuntos Fronterizos del gobierno de Texas.

⁶Hasta mediados del año de 1992 Aduanas, la Patrulla Fronteriza y la DEA habían decomisado droga con un valor de 475 millones de dólares en la frontera de Texas. Con ello, se incrementaron el volumen de los decomisos en cerca de un 284 por ciento en los últimos meses. Una de las áreas importantes para el contrabando es el valle de Texas que se incluye en el sector de McAllen.

⁷Salvo determinadas circunstancias, en el cruce de Laredo, Tx. generalmente se envía a revisión secundaria a un diez por ciento del total de los transportes comerciales que cruzan por día. Para ello, se programan de antemano el número de vehículos comerciales que se enviarán a la segunda inspección, aunque el inspector general en turno puede decidir que un camión que no está contemplado en la revisión secundaria pueda ser incluido. En suma, se estima que cerca de 70 a 80 camiones de un total de 1500 a 2000 camiones que cruzan diariamente por Laredo, Tx. son enviados a segunda revisión. Entrevista con Noel Sanchez, Inspector Chief, Aduanas, Laredo, Tx., 10 diciembre 1992.

⁸El cruce de Laredo, Tx. se apoya bastante en la automatización de algunos procesos de inspección comercial. Además, el hecho de que exista una estrecha colaboración con las autoridades locales ha permitido atender los problemas de congestiónamiento del cruce comercial. Esta colaboración se justifica en función de que las medidas que adopta Aduanas perjudican a la comunidad. Por otro lado, las acciones de las autoridades locales pueden entorpecer las labores de Aduanas, dado que la garita está prácticamente integrada a la ciudad.

⁹Un análisis sobre el papel que tiene Aduanas y el SIN aparece en General Accounting Office, *Concerns About the Coordination and Inspection Staffing on the Southwest Border*, abril 8, 1992.

¹⁰Un análisis sobre la relación entre la infraestructura y la economía de Texas lo plantea David J. Molina, "Report on the Impacts from additional U. S.-Mexico Trade on the Texas Border: A Mexican View", Consultores en Planeación y Desarrollo, Monterrey, N.L., 1992.

¹¹En donde se comprenden rubros como vivienda, agua, drenaje y atención médica. Esto ha llevado a plantear que los beneficios económicos del TLC no necesariamente se trasladarán al ámbito social, especialmente en aquellas en las áreas marginadas de Laredo, Tx. Véase "Is trade boom helping people on the border", *El Paso Times*, Diciembre 6, 1992.

¹²Entre éstos actores se pueden mencionar al Texas Department of Commerce, el Texas Consortium on Free Trade, el City Manager, Laredo Development Foundation, Laredo Chamber of Commerce, Border Trade Alliance, International Bank of Commerce, Laredo National Bank y el South Texas National Bank.

¹³El estado de Texas es de los estados fronterizos que ha mostrado mayor interés sobre los posibles efectos que tendrá el TLC en la región. Entre los

antecedentes que reflejan este interés está la reunión convocada por el Border Trade Alliance, denominada: United States and the FTA: Impact on Laredo, septiembre 1990; la conferencia sobre Transportation and NAFTA, efectuada en las ciudades de Laredo, Tx., El Paso, Tx., Brownsville y McAllen en el mes de abril de 1991; además, el Texas Department of Commerce, elaboró el documento titulado: *Texas Consortium Report on Free Trade*, octubre 1991; y por último, el sector académico a través de la Baylor University elaboró un reporte para el Subcommittee on Economic Growth Trade and Texas of the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, que se tituló *Free Trade and the United States-Mexico Bordelands*.

¹⁴El actual secretario Bentsen como senador por Texas realizó gestiones en el Congreso para que se atendieran las necesidades de su estado, particularmente, en problemas relacionados con el personal de Aduanas y del SIN en los cruces fronterizos. Los resultados logrados se deben a la influencia que tenía con legisladores del Congreso. En su puesto actual y dados estos antecedentes, se puede pensar que el secretario Bentsen tendrá mayor influencia, lo que pudiera beneficiar a su estado. Por lo anterior, se puede plantear que en la medida en que un legislador tiene nexos importantes en el Congreso esto determinará una mayor atención a los problemas de su estado o localidad.

¹⁵Sobre algunas expectativas de las políticas de Cisneros véase "Follow the highway to a better urban policy", *Los Angeles Times*, Enero 31, 1993.

Una estimación del crecimiento de la población de origen Mexicano que reside en los Estados Unidos, 1850-1990.

Rodolfo Corona Vázquez*

Summary

El presente artículo es de carácter cuantitativo y su propósito consiste en presentar una estimación de la forma como ha evolucionado la magnitud de la emigración permanente de mexicanos a Estados Unidos de América en el transcurso de los 140 años comprendidos entre 1850 y 1990. Asimismo, los cálculos efectuados permiten explicar de manera aproximada la existencia en la actualidad de cuando menos 13.4 millones de individuos de origen mexicano (nacidos en México y sus descendientes) que fueron enumerados en el Censo de Población de Estados Unidos del año 1990.

La estimación objeto del artículo se exhibe en el segundo apartado, mientras que en el primero, a manera de referencia, se señalan los resultados de otras mediciones referidos al periodo 1964 a 1990.

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1. Algunas mediciones sobre la migración de Mexicanos a Estados Unidos.

El conocimiento que se tiene sobre el fenómeno migratorio es sólo aproximado, en razón de las dificultades para medir el número y los rasgos de una población en movimiento que en proporción apreciable se oculta en Estados Unidos por no poseer la visa para permanecer y trabajar en ese país. Además, conviene indicar que las mayoría de las mediciones llevadas a cabo se refieren a los últimos decenios (en particular a fechas posteriores a 1964, que fue el último año del convenio de Braceros), en los cuales el fenómeno adquirió mayor relevancia numérica por acentuarse la complementariedad del

mercado de trabajo entre ambos países, la tradición migratoria y las diferencias salariales, que son los factores identificados como causas principales de estos desplazamientos humanos. Debido a esto, en lo que sigue se presentan algunas cifras, asociadas a dos periodos, el intervalo 1965 a 1980, y el decenio 1980-1990.

1.1. El periodo 1965-1980.

Para mencionar la cantidad de personas que constituyen la migración de mexicanos al vecino país del norte resulta conveniente establecer varios tipos de desplazamientos, aunque los mismos no resultan del todo excluyentes pues los individuos pasan de uno a otro y la información y métodos empleados para su medición no distinguen estrictamente cada modalidad.

Así, por un lado se encuentran los que se van a vivir en forma permanente a norteamérica, pero divididos en indocumentados y en aquéllos que son admitidos legalmente. Para el quinquenio 1965-1969 se ha estimado que estos dos grupos ascendieron a poco más de 100 mil indocumentados y cerca de 250 mil legales, es decir, alrededor de 350 mil mexicanos que se fueron a residir al país del norte (Rodolfo Corona, 1982). En cambio, para el lustro 1975-1979 el cálculo más aceptado asciende a un total de 850 mil mexicanos que cambiaron su domicilio habitual a Estados Unidos (Robert Warren y Jeffrey Passel, 1987), siendo alrededor de 300 mil los admitidos legalmente e indocumentados los restantes 550 mil.²

Por otro lado se hallan los migrantes temporales, que son casi todos indocumentados, pues su componente legal resulta numéricamente insignificante, no obstante estar constituida por dos categorías: los trabajadores agrícolas migratorios, que de hecho desaparecieron con la terminación del último convenio de Braceros³, y los relativamente pocos migrantes cotidianos (llamados *commuters* o tarjetas verdes).⁴

La cantidad de migrantes temporales indocumentados es la más difícil de cuantificar y posiblemente el grupo de migrantes de mayor importancia, debido a su magnitud y por el hecho de constituir en buena medida el universo de donde surgen los emigrantes permanentes (indocumentados y legales).⁵ Dada su relevancia, se han realizado diversos cálculos al respecto, los que provienen en general de la aplicación de técnicas indirectas, difieren unos de otros

y mezclan otros tipos de migrantes.⁶ Sin embargo, se cuenta con una medición directa a través de una encuesta por muestreo realizada a finales de 1978 y principios de 1979 en más de 60 mil hogares mexicanos; esta encuesta, conocida como ENEFNEU⁷, señala la existencia, en esos momentos, de alrededor de medio millón de residentes mexicanos de 15 años y más de edad que se encontraban en Estados Unidos trabajando o buscando trabajo.⁸

También se dispone de los datos del Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización de Estados Unidos (SIN), que no permiten establecer el número real de indocumentados por las fallas que contiene.⁹ pero que sí proporcionan una idea de su orden de magnitud y sus cambios temporales, a saber: el promedio anual de mexicanos localizados deportables en los lustros 1965-69, 1970-74 y 1975-79 ascendió a 120 mil, 170 mil y 880 mil respectivamente.

De esta forma, puede decirse que entre 1964 y 1980 la migración de México a Estados Unidos se incrementó, involucrando a cientos de miles de personas, y que se conforma por distintas modalidades de no fácil distinción, sobre todo por las conversiones de temporales a permanentes y viceversa¹⁰, las cuales se suceden inclusive entre los migrantes legales.¹¹

1.2. La década 1980-1990.

Durante los 80's México sufrió una severa crisis económica, la cual, aunada a otros elementos de presión para el mercado de trabajo, provocó un deterioro generalizado del nivel de vida; en cambio, en Estados Unidos se mantuvo la demanda de mano de obra para los mexicanos. Esto sugiere la intensificación de la anotada complementariedad del mercado de trabajo entre los dos países, sobre todo para cierto tipo de ocupaciones. Si a esto se le agrega la consolidación de las redes de ayuda en norteamérica y la creciente diferencia salarial, se tiene que entre 1980 y 1990 se crearon las condiciones para producir posiblemente un incremento en la magnitud de la emigración mexicana.

Por otro lado, en 1986 se puso en práctica una reforma a la ley migratoria estadounidense (IRCA), para tratar de reducir la inmigración ilegal.¹² El logro de los objetivos de esta ley parece difícil por la creciente necesidad de empleo en México y de trabajadores en norteamérica, como lo anotaron varios especialistas desde antes de ser

aprobada (Jorge Bustamante 1983, y Manuel García y Griego 1985, por ejemplo). Sin embargo, y con independencia del sentido e intensidad de sus efectos, la IRCA permite suponer que a partir de su existencia se modificaron las características y quizás el volumen de la emigración de mexicanos.

Para detectar la posible ocurrencia de los señalados cambios en el fenómeno migratorio que nos ocupa, para conocer sus manifestaciones y efectos, así como para determinar la influencia de una ley restrictiva y la de unos factores demográficos y socioeconómicos que actúan en sentido contrario, se han desarrollado distintos estudios.¹³ Tales investigaciones se han basado en cuatro tipos de datos: primero, en las cifras que se obtienen de las fuentes de datos demográficos a nivel nacional¹⁴; segundo, la información recopilada en México que se deriva de estudios de campo en las tradicionales comunidades de origen de los migrantes¹⁵; tercero, las estadísticas obtenidas en Estados Unidos mediante encuestas especiales¹⁶; y cuarto, los datos recabados junto a la línea fronteriza, del lado mexicano realizando encuestas a indocumentados que son expulsados (CONAPO 1986, por ejemplo), y del lado estadounidense entrevistando a quiénes sin inspección acaban de cruzar la línea y pretenden internarse en el país del norte (Jorge Bustamante 1989 y Ofelia Woo 1990).

Los resultados de las investigaciones llevadas a cabo ponen de manifiesto que efectivamente durante los 80's, y respecto a lo observado entre 1964 y 1980, la migración de México a Estados Unidos tuvo algunos cambios en su composición, los cuales permiten señalar que en general el fenómeno se ha vuelto más heterogéneo, complejo y de mayor magnitud.

Por las dificultades para cuantificar a los migrantes indocumentados no existe una medición precisa de la cantidad de mexicanos que se desplazaron a Estados Unidos durante el decenio 1980-90. Sin embargo, las distintas fuentes de datos, las estimaciones indirectas y los diversos estudios de corte antropológico en comunidades de origen y en lugares de destino, coinciden en señalar un aumento en el monto de la migración respecto a décadas previas.

Por ejemplo, en varios estudios se encontró, además de las mismas variaciones cíclicas de años precedentes, un incremento en el número de indocumentados a partir de mediados de 1988, en buena

medida explicado por la cada vez mayor cantidad de quiénes cruzan a Estados Unidos por primera ocasión, que en parte son individuos residentes tanto en áreas sin historia de movimientos a los Estados Unidos, como en las tradicionales zonas de expulsión, pero que antes no migraban.

De igual forma, la comparación, previa compatibilización conceptual, de dos encuestas de hogares realizadas en México, la ENEFNEU efectuada a principios de 1979 y la ENMAU (Encuesta Nacional de Migración en Áreas Urbanas) llevada a cabo en 1987 por el Consejo Nacional de Población, puso de manifiesto un aumento de la emigración temporal de trabajadores mexicanos a los Estados Unidos, en especial de los residentes de áreas urbanas (consultar, Rodolfo Corona, 1990).

También como ejemplo se tienen las cifras del Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización de los Estados Unidos (SIN) sobre mexicanos que adquirieron la categoría de residentes con permanencia legal en norteamérica. Por un lado se hallan los 2.3 millones que se incorporaron a los programas de legalización de IRCA¹⁷, buena parte de los cuales ingresaron a ese país durante los 80's; y por otro se encuentran los mexicanos de nacimiento que fueron admitidos como inmigrantes legales (entre 1980 y 1988 este grupo llegó a los 587 mil individuos).

Otra indicación al respecto se constituye por los datos de la Encuesta Continua de Población de los Estados Unidos (Current Population Survey) de junio de 1988, que, no obstante su posible omisión de indocumentados y de personas sin vivienda fija y de las que habitan en sus lugares de trabajo, señala un aumento de residentes de nacionalidad mexicana en norteamérica de 1.469 millones entre 1980 y 1988.¹⁸

Por último se encuentran las estimaciones que se pueden establecer con base en los datos de los censos de población de ambos países. Los censos norteamericanos proporcionan cifras sobre los nacidos en México que residen al momento censal en Estados Unidos, así como las cantidades de habitantes en ese país que se consideran de origen mexicano. De tal suerte, con estos datos es factible estimar, del aumento observado entre uno y otro censo y para ambas categorías, lo que puede atribuirse a la migración; es decir, la cantidad de mexicanos que en la década correspondiente se fueron a vivir a

norteamérica y sobrevivieron al final de la misma.¹⁹

Una estimación de esta naturaleza se realiza en el Cuadro 1; de estos cálculos se desprenden tres señalamientos. El primero, que el número de migrantes aumentó sensiblemente en la década de los 80's. El segundo, que en esos diez años fue superior a los dos millones la cifra de mexicanos que se fueron a vivir a norteamérica. Y el tercero, que las estimaciones de migrantes netos en el decenio 1980-90 derivadas de los conceptos de "población de origen mexicano" y de "nacidos en México" son semejantes (2.113 y 2.378 millones respectivamente), lo cual puede ser una indicación de que el verdadero y desconocido número de migrantes se encuentra cercano a esas cantidades.

Por su parte, los censos mexicanos, al proporcionar datos sobre los residentes del país permiten observar el aumento total de la población, aumento que al ser relacionado con el de crecimiento natural, en forma residual manifiesta la acción de la migración neta internacional, la cual se concentra casi en su totalidad en el intercambio poblacional entre México y los Estados Unidos. Las estimaciones que así pueden obtenerse son confiables en la medida en que sean exactos los datos e indicadores involucrados. Este no es el caso de las estadísticas mexicanas pues contienen errores de diversa naturaleza; sin embargo, empleando distintas fuentes de datos, los resultados de diversos estudios sobre la dinámica poblacional del país y usando las relaciones "teóricas" entre las distintas variables demográficas, es posible compatibilizar o conciliar las estadísticas que dan cuenta de la fecundidad, la mortalidad y los montos poblacionales. Un ejercicio de "conciliación" de este tipo se elaboró para establecer el Cuadro 2, que contiene, por decenios y entre 1930 y 1990, los cambios en el número de residentes en México, pero diferenciando los atribuibles a nacimientos y defunciones, de los relativos a migración internacional, que pueden considerarse como el saldo de la migración permanente entre México y su vecino del norte.

Las estimaciones de este Cuadro 2 ponen de manifiesto el continuo aumento del volumen de mexicanos que se trasladan a norteamérica para vivir ahí. De igual forma estas cifras indican el notable aumento de la emigración permanente entre los 70's y los 80's, llegando en esta década a sobrepasar los dos millones de migrantes. Esta cifra es importante en sí misma pues significa para

México una pérdida considerable de población (por ejemplo, la cantidad de 2.1398 millones de emigrantes es casi la mitad de las defunciones ocurridas en todo el país durante los mismos diez años).

También, al contrastar para el decenio 1980-90 las estimaciones contenidas en los Cuadros 2 y 1, se pone de relieve la similitud que existe; es decir, una relativa consistencia entre fuentes de datos ajenas, no obstante el carácter sólo aproximado y del todo perfectible de las estimaciones realizadas.

Al mismo tiempo, las estimaciones basadas en los censos norteamericanos y mexicanos, además de su semejanza, por un lado exhiben magnitudes que no entran en discordancia con los datos del SIN y de la Current Population Survey que fueron presentados en párrafos precedentes; y por otro, manifiestan el mismo comportamiento que se ha observado en estudios de caso y encuestas realizadas en México. Esto nos permite suponer que durante los 80's el saldo neto de migrantes permanentes de México a los Estados Unidos se encuentra entre los 2.1 y los 2.5 millones de personas.

2. Estimación de emigración y población de origen Mexicano residente en Estados Unidos (1850-1990).

2.1. Características de la estimación.

Dado el objetivo del trabajo, de efectuar una medición indirecta de las cantidades de mexicanos que desde mediados del siglo pasado se han ido a vivir a Estados Unidos, así como de su evolución demográfica en ese país, se adoptó un enfoque metodológico conformado por estimar las cantidades de migrantes y de ulteriores familiares mediante la aplicación, con indicadores de reproducción biológica y sobrevivencia y con base en los censos de población mexicanos y norteamericanos, de técnicas residuales similares a las que pusimos en práctica en los cuadros 1 y 2, pero utilizando también aspectos históricos y otros elementos cuantitativos disponibles sobre el tema.²⁰

Conviene mencionar que la incorporación de estos aspectos históricos y elementos cuantitativos implicó una serie de tareas de búsqueda, confrontación y análisis crítico de documentos e información, pues los datos y estimaciones al respecto son unos cuantos, se encuentran dispersos y difieren unos de otros.

Además, el hecho de haber optado por este enfoque metodológico determinó el procedimiento concreto a seguir, que consistió básicamente en dos actividades complementarias. Por un lado, en realizar estimaciones demográficas por decenios con base en datos fragmentarios, cifras de población residente, tasas de mortalidad y fecundidad e indicaciones sobre la migración.²¹ Y por otro, en confrontar y conciliar las diversas estimaciones por decenios, tanto temporalmente como entre fuentes de datos (básicamente los censos mexicanos y de Estados Unidos).

De esta forma, se puede decir que la estimación elaborada tiene los siguientes rasgos:

(i) Las migraciones que se abordan son las llamadas permanentes o definitivas, porque implican el cambio de residencia habitual en este caso entre México y los Estados Unidos. Como consecuencia se dejan de lado los movimientos de carácter temporal.²² Además y debido a los retornos, los cálculos realizados (que se hicieron por decenios) no hacen distinción entre cuántos se fueron y cuántos regresaron, tampoco se identifican cuántos de los descendientes de mexicanos nativos de E.U.A. llegaron a vivir a nuestro país, sino exclusivamente el saldo migratorio de cada década.

(ii) La estimación obtenida es producto del uso y la compatibilización de las estadísticas e indicadores existentes

Esta información (básica y derivada) se refiere tanto a la migración permanente de mexicanos, que incluye la población nativa de nuestro país residente en México y los Estados Unidos, como las correspondientes tasas e índices que dan cuenta de la mortalidad y la fecundidad.

(iii) Los resultados obtenidos presentan, creemos que por primera ocasión, un panorama de la evolución numérica de las migraciones (de naturaleza permanente de mexicanos a Estados Unidos) desde la pérdida de los territorios del norte mexicano hasta nuestros días.

(iv) Las cantidades estimadas de población de origen mexicano residente en los Estados Unidos se determinaron cada diés años a partir de 1850.

(v) Las cifras calculadas se refieren a los tres factores que explican el crecimiento de la población de origen mexicano a saber:

—los “pobladores” y sus descendientes, es decir, los

mexicanos que habitando en los territorios anexados por Estados Unidos permanecieron en ellos, junto con las personas que fueron procreando con el paso del tiempo;

—los **“inmigrantes”** o personas nacidas en México que se fueron a vivir a norteamérica;

—y los **descendientes de los “inmigrantes”**, que son los hijos y demás descendientes de los **“inmigrantes”** que ya nacieron en Estados Unidos, donde se quedaron a residir. Esta categoría de población a su vez se compone de dos grupos: los hijos de los inmigrantes (o primera generación en los Estados Unidos) y los posteriores descendientes de los migrantes.

2.2. Metodología utilizada.

La metodología que se utilizó combina varias técnicas demográficas y se puede dividir en los tres pasos secuenciales que a continuación se describen en forma sintética.

En primer lugar se estimó el número de migrantes por decenio, o sea, el saldo neto de la migración definitiva de mexicanos a Estados Unidos. Esto se llevó a cabo en forma residual, usando los censos mexicanos²³ (“faltantes” de población residente) y los norteamericanos (incrementos de nacidos en México) en combinación con indicadores de mortalidad, pero compatibilizando las cifras obtenidas, tanto entre una y otra fuente de datos como en sentido temporal.²⁴

Un ejemplo del cálculo inicial de migrantes, para la década 1980-90, lo constituyen las últimas dos columnas del cuadro número 1 (basadas en las preguntas sobre lugar de nacimiento y población de origen mexicano de los censos norteamericanos), así como la columna final del cuadro 2 (basada en la población residente censada en los censos mexicanos).

Las cantidades de migrantes netos por década calculadas mediante este primer paso se muestran en el Gráfico 1, donde se aprecia su irregular comportamiento, aunque en términos generales ascendente, sobre todo en los últimos 30 años.

Así, se tiene que de acuerdo a estas cifras la emigración permanente de mexicanos no rebasó la cantidad de 50,000 personas por decenio durante el siglo pasado, luego se incrementó notoriamente, alcanzando 374 mil individuos entre 1910 y 1920; después decreció, al punto de que durante los 30's el regreso de nativos mexicanos

superó a la emigración en 135 mil individuos. Por último, a partir de los 40's se ha elevado continuamente la cantidad de emigrantes permanentes, en especial desde 1970, pues en el decenio 1970-80 fueron 1.533 millones los mexicanos que se fueron a residir a norteamérica, y en la década 1980-90 tal cifra aumentó a 2.444 millones.

En segundo término y a partir de los migrantes a lo largo de cada década, se calculó la cantidad de hijos que estos migrantes tuvieron en los Estados Unidos durante el mismo decenio que se desplazaron, estableciendo además los sobrevivientes de estos niños al final de ese decenio y de la década siguiente.²⁵

Como tercer paso se proyectaron las tres categorías de población establecidas a partir de mediados del siglo anterior, usando para ello las tasas brutas de mortalidad y natalidad compatibilizadas de la población mexicana, en forma directa para los migrantes y con ligeras variaciones (básicamente para reducir la mortalidad entre 1850 y 1930) entre los descendientes de mexicanos.²⁶

Así, para la primera categoría ("pobladores" y sus descendientes) se inició en 1850 con 84 mil personas, cifra citada en diversas publicaciones sobre la cantidad de mexicanos que se quedaron a vivir en los "nuevos" territorios norteamericanos.²⁷ Esta cantidad se fue incrementando cada decenio debido al saldo positivo entre nacimientos y muertes, cuyos montos se establecieron aplicando las tasas correspondientes.²⁸

La segunda categoría, compuesta por los "inmigrantes" sobrevivientes en cada año de referencia, se determinó en función de las cantidades de migrantes permanentes de México a Estados Unidos en cada uno de los catorce decenios bajo estudio, cantidades que fueron estimadas previamente, como se anotó con antelación y que se presentan en el Gráfico 1.

En otros términos, se calcularon los sobrevivientes en 1860 de los que migraron entre 1850 y 1860; para 1870 se calcularon cuántos de los inmigrantes de 1860 recién establecidos sobrevivieron hasta 1870, y se les añadieron los sobrevivientes de los migrantes del decenio inmediato anterior (1860-70). Este procedimiento se repitió sistemáticamente para los siguientes decenios hasta llegar al año de 1990.²⁹

Finalmente, la tercera categoría o "descendientes de los

inmigrantes", se estructuró, primero, en función de los hijos de inmigrantes nativos de norteamérica que sobrevivieron al final de cada decenio. Y después mediante la simulación de la reproducción biológica de estos hijos de inmigrantes y sus respectivos descendientes. Para el efecto se aplicaron tasas de mortalidad y fecundidad de forma similar a lo anotado para los "pobladores" y sus descendientes.³⁰

2.3. Resultados.

No es el propósito de este trabajo analizar las estimaciones obtenidas, sino exclusivamente presentarlas para su empleo o evaluación. De tal suerte, en lo que sigue sólo se describe el contenido de los cuadros y gráficos que se estructuraron con las cifras estimadas.

Los resultados de la estimación llevada a cabo se exponen en el Cuadro 3, que contiene, para cada año terminado en cero desde 1850 hasta 1990, el total calculado de Población de Origen Mexicano que reside en los Estados Unidos (columna 1), así como las tres categorías de población que lo componen o que explican su monto, a saber: los "pobladores" originales y sus descendientes (columna 2); los "inmigrantes" o sobrevivientes al año de referencia de los nativos de México que se fueron a vivir a norteamérica (columna 3); y los descendientes de los migrantes (columna 4), que se encuentran divididos en "hijos de inmigrantes mexicanos" (columna 5), y descendientes de estos hijos de inmigrantes (columna 6).

El total de Población de Origen Mexicano, según la estimación realizada, se incrementó sistemáticamente desde 84 mil personas en 1850 hasta 14.094 millones en 1990. Los datos sobre el mismo concepto de población de los censos norteamericanos de 1970, 1980 y 1990 resultan ligeramente inferiores (18.3%, 3.6% y 5.0%)³¹, lo cual muestra consistencia de la estimación lograda con la única información directa existente sobre el tema.³²

Además de este Cuadro 3 y del mencionado Gráfico 1 (que muestra las estimaciones decenales de migrantes netos permanentes de México a norteamérica), se presentan tres cuadros y otro gráfico, todos ellos derivados del Cuadro 3. Los tres cuadros adicionales contienen indicadores que permiten apreciar más fácilmente la dinámica de la Población de Origen Mexicano; dinámica que también se ilustra en el Gráfico 2.

Así, el Gráfico 2 proporciona una visualización panorámica,

de 1850 a 1990, del crecimiento de la Población de Origen Mexicano que reside en Estados Unidos, indicando además los incrementos de las tres categorías de población señaladas.

El Cuadro 4, por su parte, exhibe para cada año de referencia y en porcentajes la composición de la Población de Origen Mexicano en términos de las categorías establecidas.

En este Cuadro 4 se puede ver, por ejemplo, cómo los "pobladores" y sus descendientes han ido perdiendo importancia de forma gradual, desde un 100% en 1850 hasta un 13.6% en 1990. O también, cómo el peso relativo de los "inmigrantes" ha variado (entre 14% y 40%) en función de los volúmenes de migrantes decenales (ver Gráfico 1) en combinación con las magnitudes adquiridas por las otras categorías de población. Asimismo, en este cuadro se advierte la importancia de los descendientes de migrantes, que desde 1940 representan más de la mitad de la Población de Origen Mexicano.

El Cuadro 5, en cambio, muestra los incrementos decenales de la Población de Origen Mexicano, tanto en realación a su total como en referencia a las categorías poblacionales que lo explican.

Con las cifras de este Cuadro 5 se pone claramente de manifiesto, por una parte, la acción de las categorías poblacionales en la conformación de los totales de Población de Origen Mexicano en distintas épocas; y por otra, las variaciones numéricas de esas categorías poblacionales con el paso del tiempo. Variaciones que han respondido a su propia dinámica demográfica, como en los casos de los "pobladores" y sus descendientes, y (en gran medida) de los descendientes de los hijos de inmigrantes; y también, tales variaciones reflejan la acción de factores de otra naturaleza, como el caso de los "inmigrantes" y de sus hijos, cuyas alteraciones numéricas temporales han sido el resultado, en ocasiones, de repatriaciones, problemas bélicos, terminación de convenios de braceros, crisis económicas, etc.

Conviene aclarar que en este cuadro las cantidades referidas al aumento decenal de inmigrantes son ligeramente inferiores a las cifras estimadas de emigrantes del Gráfico 1, lo cual obedece a la acción de la mortalidad en este grupo en territorio norteamericano, es decir, en este caso (Cuadro 5) se trata de migrantes durante el decenio pero sobrevivientes al final de la década correspondiente.

Finalmente se encuentra el Cuadro 6, que se estructuró con los porcentajes anuales de incremento, en cada década, de la Población de

Origen Mexicano y de sus categorías. Estos porcentajes señalan, en números relativos, las variaciones temporales mostradas por los incrementos decenales. En tal sentido, con estos porcentajes (que pueden considerarse tasas anuales de crecimiento) es factible analizar la importancia de las distintas categorías en la conformación de la Población de Origen Mexicano, así como los efectos de los factores demográficos y de otra naturaleza en el crecimiento de los residentes norteamericanos que provienen directa e indirectamente de México.

Cuadro 1. Estimación de la migración neta por decenios de Mexicanos que se van a vivir a los Estados Unidos de América. 1960-1990.

C o n c e p t o	Aumentos decenales de Población residente en Estados Unidos * / (miles de personas)			
	M e x i c a n o s d e n a c i m i e n t o			Población de origen mexicano
	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1980-1990
T O T A L	212.5	1411.0	2248.1	4653.2
NACIMIENTOS en EUA	—	—	—	3169.7
DEFUNCIONES en EUA	-62.2	-64.6	-129.8	-629.7
INMIGRANTES (Nacidos en México)	274.7	1475.6	2377.9	2113.2

* / Los Censos de Población de los Estados Unidos enumeraron las siguientes cantidades de residentes en ese país que habían nacido en México: 575.8 y 788.3 8 miles de personas en 1960 y 1970, y 2.1993 y 4.4474 millones en 1980 y 1990. De igual forma en esos Censos se contabilizaron, en 1980 y 1990 respectivamente, 8.740 y 13.3932 millones de individuos que vivían en norteamérica declarándose de origen mexicano. La diferencia de estas cifras entre un censo y otro determina el aumento decenal total respectivo. Para calcular los nacimientos y defunciones se aplicaron las tasas anuales de natalidad y mortalidad observadas en México en las décadas correspondientes (estas tasas se tomaron del Cuadro 2). Las estimaciones de migrantes se obtuvieron aplicando adecuadamente la ecuación compensadora a las cifras de aumento total, nacimientos y defunciones.

Cuadro 2. República Mexicana: Aumentos decenales de Población residente y Tasas anuales de crecimiento total, natural y social en los decenios 1930-40 a 1980-90.

Tasas anuales y Aumentos decenales de Pobl	República Mexicana * /					
	1930-40	1940-50	1950-60	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90
Tasas Anuales de Crecimiento Demográfico (por mil)						
T O T A L	18.8	25.0	30.8	33.6	29.7	21.0
N A T U R A L	19.0	25.2	31.1	34.4	31.3	23.8
-T.B. NATALIDAD	44.1	45.0	45.0	45.2	39.5	29.7
-T.B. MORTALIDAD	25.1	19.8	13.9	10.8	8.2	5.9
S O C I A L (MIGRACION NETA)	- 0.2	- 0.2	- 0.3	- 0.8	- 1.6	- 2.8
Aumento decenal d Población (miles)						
T O T A L	3643.3	6005.7	9731.7	14588.8	17615.7	16048.2
por CRECIMIENTO						
N A T U R A L	3682.1	6053.7	9826.5	14936.2	18564.7	18188.0
--- NACIMIENTOS	8546.3	10810.3	14218.4	19625.4	23428.3	22696.7
--- DEFUNCIONES	-4864.2	-4756.6	-4391.9	-4689.2	-4863.6	-4508.8
MIGRACION NETA INTERNACIONAL	-38.8	-48.0	-94.8	-347.4	-949.0	-2139.8

*_/Las tasas de crecimiento total se calcularon (con fórmula de incremento geométrico) para cada decenio con base en las cifras corregidas de población residente. Las cantidades de población residente corregida ascienden a 17.839, 21.4823 y 27.488 millones para 1930, 1940 y 1950, a 37.2197 y 51.8085 para 1960 y 1970, y a 69.4242 y 85.4724 millones de personas para 1980 y 1990; estas cantidades son estimaciones propias y se refieren al 30 de junio de cada año censal. Para cada Censo la corrección consistió (además de trasladar las cifras del momento censal a mediados del mismo año conforme a la tasa de crecimiento geométrico de la década inmediata anterior) en aplicar un coeficiente de omisión censal (7%, 8% y 6% para 1930, 1940 y 1950, 6%, 5.6% y 3.5% para 1960, 1970 y 1980, y 4.5% para el Censo de 1990). Para 1970 y 1980 se adoptaron los coeficientes de omisión censal de CONAPO (1989), para 1960 el de INEGI-CONAPO (1985) y para 1950 el calculado en INEGI-CONAPO-CELADE (1983). Por su parte, el porcentaje de omisión en 1990 se obtuvo del análisis efectuado en Rodolfo Corona (1991), mientras que los correspondientes a 1930 y 1940 se establecieron con base en la revisión del comportamiento de la fecundidad, la mortalidad y la migración

internacional de esos años. La tasa de crecimiento natural es la diferencia de la tasa bruta de natalidad menos la de mortalidad. La tasa de crecimiento social se obtuvo restando la de crecimiento total menos el natural; por tanto involucra el saldo neto migratorio internacional. Para cada decenio las tasas brutas de natalidad y mortalidad se obtuvieron como un promedio aritmético de los correspondientes indicadores de los años inicial y final de cada década, con excepción del período 1980-90 donde se adoptó la de 1985. Las tasas empleadas fueron: de M. Urbina y Y. Palma (1987) para 1950 a 1980; de F. Alba (1977) para 1930 y 1940; y de CONAPO (noviembre 1989) para 1985. Los aumentos de población total se obtuvieron restando las cantidades corregidas de población de censos consecutivos, mientras que los restantes aumentos poblacionales se calcularon aplicando las correspondientes tasas demográficas.

Cuadro 3. Estimación de la Población de origen Mexicano residente en los Estados Unidos de América, 1850 a 1990.

AÑO	ESTIMACIÓN DE LA POBLACIÓN DE ORIGEN MEXICANO RESIDENTE EN ESTADOS UNIDOS (en miles) * _ /					
	TOTAL	Pobla- dores y sus descen- dientes	Inmi- grantes	Descendientes d.Migrantes		
				Total	Hijos de - inmi- grantes	Descend. d.Hijos de mi- grantes
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1850	84	84	—	—	—	—
1860	133	101	27	5	5	—
1870	198	122	54	22	16	6
1880	270	148	71	51	24	27
1890	355	178	87	90	29	61
1900	463	215	103	145	36	109
1910	718	260	222	236	61	175
1920	1 210	314	480	416	131	285
1930	1 729	379	640	710	208	502
1940	1 904	457	377	1 070	213	857
1950	2 573	586	451	1 536	164	1 372
1960	3 671	796	576	2 299	212	2 087
1970	5 422	1 117	788	3 517	293	3 224
1980	9 071	1 520	2 199	5 352	565	4 787
1990	14 094	1 923	4 447	7 724	953	6 771

*_/ Todas las cifras se refieren a población de ambos sexos (y todas las edades) que residía en Estados Unidos a mediados del año de referencia. Las seis columnas contienen:

- Columna (1)=(2)+(3)+(4);
- Columna (2) son cantidades de mexicanos (y sus descendientes) que vivían en los territorios que fueron anexados a Estados Unidos;
- Columna (3) es la población nacida en México o Inmigrantes;
- Columna (4)=(5)+(6);
- Columna (5) son los hijos de los Inmigrantes; y,
- Columna (6) son los descendientes de los hijos de los inmigrantes.

Cuadro 4. Distribución de la Población de origen Mexicano residente en los Estados Unidos de América, según origen o categoría, 1850 a 1990.

AÑO	DISTRIBUCIÓN DE LA POBLACIÓN DE ORIGEN MEXICANO RESIDENTE EN ESTADOS UNIDOS POR CATEGORÍA * _/					
	TOTAL	Pobla- dores y sus descen- dientes (2)	Inmi- grantes (3)	Descendientes d.Migrantes		
				Total (4)	Hijos de - inmi- grantes (5)	Descend. d.Hijos de mi- grantes (6)
1850	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—
1860	100.0	75.9	20.3	3.8	3.8	—
1870	100.0	61.6	27.3	11.1	8.1	3.0
1880	100.0	54.8	26.3	18.9	8.9	10.0
1890	100.0	50.1	24.5	25.4	8.2	17.2
1900	100.0	46.5	22.2	31.3	7.8	23.5
1910	100.0	36.2	30.9	32.9	8.5	24.4
1920	100.0	26.0	39.6	34.4	10.8	23.6
1930	100.0	21.9	37.0	41.1	12.0	29.1
1940	100.0	24.0	19.8	56.2	11.2	45.0
1950	100.0	22.8	17.5	59.7	6.4	53.3
1960	100.0	21.7	15.7	62.6	5.8	56.8
1970	100.0	20.6	14.5	64.9	5.4	59.5
1980	100.0	16.8	24.2	59.0	6.2	52.8
1990	100.0	13.6	31.6	54.8	6.8	48.0

* _/ Para cada año de referencia la distribución porcentual se obtuvo con base en las estimaciones del Cuadro 3.

Cuadro 5. Incrementos decenales estimados de la Población de Origen Mexicano residente en 108 Estados Unidos de América, 1850-60 a 1980-90.

INCREMENTOS DECENALES ESTIMADOS DE LA POBLACIÓN DE ORIGEN MEXICANO RESIDENTE EN E.U.A. (en miles) *_ /

DÉCADA	INCRE- MENTO TOTAL	Causa del incremento decenal				
		Aumento de Pobla- dores y sus descen- dientes (2)	Aumento de Inmi- grantes (3)	Aumentos de Descendientes de Inmigrantes		
				Total (4)	Hijos de inmi- grantes (5)	Descend. d.Hijos de mi- grantes (6)
1850-60	49	17	27	5	5	—
1860-70	65	21	27	17	11	6
1870-80	72	26	17	29	8	21
1880-90	85	30	16	39	5	34
1890-00	108	37	16	55	7	48
1900-10	255	45	119	91	25	66
1910-20	492	54	258	180	70	110
1920-30	519	65	160	294	77	217
1930-40	175	78	- 263	360	5	355
1940-50	669	129	74	466	- 49	515
1950-60	1 098	210	125	763	48	715
1960-70	1 751	321	212	1 218	81	1 137
1970-80	3 649	403	1 411	1 835	272	1 563
1980-90	5 023	403	2 248	2 372	388	1 984

*_ / Los Incrementos Decenales se obtuvieron restando, para cada columna del Cuadro 3 o categoría de población, la cifra inicial de la final de cada década.

Cuadro 6. Porcentaje anual promedio de Incremento (por decenio) de la Población de Origen Mexicano residente en los Estados Unidos de América, 1850-60 a 1980-90.

PORCENTAJE ANUAL DE INCREMENTO DE LA POBLACIÓN DE ORIGEN MEXICANO RESIDENTE EN E.U.A. *_/						
DÉCADA	INCRE- MENTO TOTAL (1)	Causa del incremento decenal				
		Aumento de Pobladores y sus descendientes (2)	Aumento de Inmigrantes (3)	Aumentos de Descendientes de Inmigrantes		
				Total (4)	Hijos de inmi- grantes (5)	Descend. d.Hijos de mi- grantes (6)
1850-60	4.52 %	1.84 %	20.00 %	20.00 %	20.00 %	—
1860-70	3.93 %	1.88 %	6.67 %	12.59 %	10.48 %	20.00 %
1870-80	3.08 %	1.93 %	2.72 %	7.95 %	4.00 %	12.73 %
1880-90	2.72 %	1.84 %	2.03 %	5.53 %	1.89 %	7.73 %
1890-00	2.64 %	1.88 %	1.68 %	4.68 %	2.15 %	5.65 %
1900-10	4.32 %	1.89 %	7.32 %	4.78 %	5.15 %	4.65 %
1910-20	5.10 %	1.88 %	7.35 %	5.52 %	7.29 %	4.78 %
1920-30	3.53 %	1.88 %	2.86 %	5.22 %	4.54 %	5.51 %
1930-40	0.96 %	1.87 %	-5.17 %	4.04 %	0.24 %	5.22 %
1940-50	2.99 %	2.47 %	1.79 %	3.58 %	-2.60 %	4.62 %
1950-60	3.52 %	3.04 %	2.43 %	3.98 %	2.55 %	4.13 %
1960-70	3.85 %	3.36 %	3.11 %	4.19 %	3.21 %	4.28 %
1970-80	5.04 %	3.06 %	9.45 %	4.14 %	6.34 %	3.90 %
1980-90	4.34 %	2.34 %	6.76 %	3.63 %	5.11 %	3.43 %

*_/ Los porcentajes anuales promedio de Incremento, de la Población de Origen Mexicano residente en los Estados Unidos de América, se obtuvieron para cada década dividiendo (y después multiplicando por 100) la décima parte del aumento decenal de cada categoría de población (Cuadro 5) entre la población media correspondiente, que es el promedio aritmético de la población inicial y final respectiva (Cuadro 3).

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Notas

¹Los que son admitidos para residir en norteamérica forman, según la Ley de Inmigración y Nacionalidad de ese país, la categoría de "Inmigrantes", que a su vez se divide en dos subcategorías: los que están sujetos a la restricción numérica de 20 mil al año, que para el caso de México se aplica desde 1976; y los que pueden obtener la visa de inmigrante por ser parientes inmediatos de ciudadanos de Estados Unidos, lo que impulsó la naturalización de miles de mexicanos a partir de 1977. Una explicación detallada de estos aspectos se encuentra en Manuel García y Griego y Mónica Vereá, 1988.

²La cantidad de inmigrantes legales se obtuvo de los registros del Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización de los Estados Unidos, mientras que la cifra de indocumentados se estableció restando esta cantidad a la estimación del total de inmigrantes permanentes de origen mexicano que para el mismo intervalo elaboraron Warren y Passel.

³Entre 1955 y 1959 el promedio anual de Braceros contratados fue de 430 mil; en cambio, en los quinquenios 1965-69 y 1975-79 el promedio anual de trabajadores agrícolas temporales de origen mexicano admitidos legalmente en norteamérica (conocidos como trabajadores H2A) apenas alcanzó las cantidades de 2,500 y 1,000 personas respectivamente.

⁴Una idea de la cantidad de migrantes cotidianos legales la proporciona la cifra de 15 mil mexicanos con "tarjeta verde" residentes en las ciudades de Tijuana, Juárez, Nuevo Laredo y Matamoros, que a principios de 1987 cruzaban la frontera diariamente para trabajar en Estados Unidos. Esta cifra se obtuvo en la Encuesta Nacional de Migración en Áreas Urbanas (ENMAU) realizada por el Consejo Nacional de Población.

⁵Esta transformación de temporales en permanentes ocurre mediante dos formas no excluyentes: una, que podría llamarse directa, cuando el indocumentado alarga su estancia en norteamérica; y otra, indirecta, cuando estos individuos, una vez establecidos en Estados Unidos, trasladan a este país a sus familiares para vivir con ellos.

⁶Una revisión de las características y confiabilidad de buena parte de las estimaciones realizadas sobre el número de indocumentados, puede encontrarse en Manuel García y Griego (1980), Rodolfo Corona (1982) y Rodolfo Tuirán (1984).

⁷La ENEFNEU o "Encuesta Nacional de Emigración a la Frontera Norte del País y a los Estados Unidos" fue realizada por el Centro Nacional de Información y Estadísticas del Trabajo (CENIET) y sus características principales se describen

en Carlos Zazueta y Manuel García y Griego, 1982.

⁸Esta cantidad se acepta como la más precisa aunque se reconoce que tiene fallas: por un lado sobreestima la cantidad de migrantes temporales indocumentados porque contiene un 9% de legales (commuters y ciudadanos norteamericanos); y por otro subestima esa cantidad porque no incluye a tres grupos de población: los menores de 15 años, los migrantes que viven solos y los que viajaron junto con el resto de miembros de su hogar. Ver Carlos Zazueta y Rodolfo Corona, 1979.

⁹Las fallas de las estadísticas del SIN para contabilizar el número de indocumentados son básicamente tres: la primera, que subestiman esa cantidad pues sólo consideran a quiénes localiza la patrulla fronteriza. La segunda, que sobreestiman la magnitud del fenómeno porque contabilizan eventos y no personas, es decir, un migrante aparece tantas veces como es detenido, inclusive el mismo día, lo cual es un suceso común por la intención del migrante de trabajar en norteamérica y por el hecho de que la mayoría de las aprehensiones se efectúan prácticamente al intentar el cruce de la frontera (en 1977, por ejemplo, el 68.1% de las detenciones se realizó en las primeras 72 horas de estancia de los indocumentados en EEUU). Y la tercera, que las cifras de aprehendidos reflejan al mismo tiempo la eficiencia y el número de integrantes de la patrulla fronteriza.

¹⁰Estas conversiones, que complican la identificación de los tipos de migrantes, en parte se explican porque el criterio de frecuente uso para diferenciar una estancia temporal de un cambio de residencia es el de una duración menor o mayor de seis meses en el lugar de destino, y en este caso es justamente de seis meses el tiempo promedio de permanencia en norteamérica entre quienes regresan a sus hogares en México después de haber trabajado en ese país, como lo indican Manuel García y Griego y Mónica Vereá (1988), y como se aprecia en los datos de una encuesta realizada a 9,992 indocumentados devueltos al país en octubre y noviembre de 1977 por el Centro Nacional de Información y Estadísticas del Trabajo, sobre todo después de eliminar a quienes fueron aprehendidos al momento de cruzar la frontera (ver Miguel Cervera, 1979). También y en forma aproximada, este promedio se desprende de varias investigaciones efectuadas en los lugares de origen de los migrantes y sobre indocumentados detenidos (estas investigaciones se citan en Patricia Morales, 1982).

¹¹Guillermina Jasso y Mark Rosenzweig (1981) encontraron que en 1979 vivían nuevamente en nuestro país el 56.2% de los mexicanos que en 1971 fueron admitidos legalmente para residir en los Estados Unidos.

¹²Esta reforma se conoce como Ley Simpson-Rodino o Ley de Reforma y Control de Inmigración (IRCA), y sus principales propósitos fueron: por una parte, disminuir la corriente de indocumentados mediante sanciones económicas a empleadores y a través de fortalecer la patrulla fronteriza; y por otra, legalizar la permanencia en Estados Unidos de un par de clases de extranjeros sin documentos para el efecto, los que habían vivido en ese país desde 1982, y aquellos trabajadores agrícolas que estuvieron empleados cuando menos 90 días durante 1984, 1985 o 1986.

¹³Entre estas investigaciones conviene en especial mencionar las que tuvieron como objeto indagar las repercusiones de la IRCA, y que fueron realizadas

bajo la promoción y el financiamiento de la "Comisión para el Estudio de la Migración Internacional". Comisión creada por el Senado de los Estados Unidos como parte de la propia Ley Simpson-Rodino (ver Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development 1990a y 1990b).

¹⁴En este caso hacemos referencia a los censos de población de 1990 en ambos países, así como a los datos que provienen tanto de los registros del Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización de los Estados Unidos como de la Encuesta Continua de Población del mismo país.

¹⁵Por ejemplo, David Barkin y Gustavo López 1989, Wayne Cornelius 1990b y Germán Vega 1990.

¹⁶Es decir, encuestas efectuadas en empresas que contratan inmigrantes (entrevistando a patrones, representantes sindicales y obreros), y encuestas realizadas a través de la aplicación de cuestionarios a indocumentados que buscan trabajo (Wayne Cornelius 1989 y 1990a, y Eliot Grossman 1989, como ilustración).

¹⁷Hasta mayo de 1990 se presentaron, por un lado, 1'762,143 solicitudes de legalización de extranjeros sin documentos que vivían en Estados Unidos desde 1982, siendo 1'230,457 de mexicanos. Y por otro, 1'276,682 solicitudes de legalización de trabajadores agrícolas, de las cuales 1'040,268 fueron de mexicanos (datos tomados de U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1990).

¹⁸Estos datos fueron tomados de Karen A. Woodrow y Jeffrey S. Passel, 1989.

¹⁹Obviamente los montos de migrantes netos que así se estiman dependen de los supuestos que se incorporen acerca de mortalidad y fecundidad, pero, sobre todo, de la exactitud de los censos. En relación a esto último se reconoce la subcobertura de la población de origen hispano, en particular los indocumentados (para el Censo de 1980 Robert Warren y Jeffrey Passel 1987 calcularon un porcentaje de omisión de nacidos en México residentes en EUA de 13.1%); no obstante, debe recordarse el esfuerzo especial realizado en los dos censos pasados para enumerar estas personas. En todo caso, las estimaciones proporcionan al menos el orden de magnitud del fenómeno, además de que en la medida que los censos de tengan similares porcentajes de cobertura las estimaciones serán más precisas.

²⁰Este enfoque lo adoptamos después de desechar la línea de trabajo más técnica conformada por el uso de modelos estadístico-demográficos de crecimiento poblacional (sobre la cual realizamos varios ejercicios), debido a que no toma en cuenta el conocimiento que se tiene sobre la evolución de la migración definitiva internacional de habitantes de nuestro país, ni las características y variable exactitud de la información básica.

²¹Los montos de migrantes definitivos de México a los Estados Unidos han tenido sensibles variaciones con el paso del tiempo (ver Gráfico 1), debido a que el comportamiento del fenómeno migratorio responde a factores socioeconómicos y políticos en buena medida ajenos a los que provocan el crecimiento natural de las poblaciones. Estas variaciones dificultaron la aplicación de alguno de los modelos demográfico-matemáticos que existen para apreciar en el largo y mediano plazo la evolución numérica de un conjunto de seres humanos.

²²De igual forma, en la presente estimación no se distinguen los migrantes legales (o que obtuvieron los papeles necesarios para permanecer en norteamérica) de los indocumentados.

²³Conviene aclarar que, de 1930 a 1990, en forma paralela al cálculo de emigrantes internacionales se hizo una "conciliación demográfica", para evaluar y ajustar tanto los censos de población mexicanos involucrados, como los indicadores de fecundidad y mortalidad durante ese intervalo.

²⁴El análisis crítico de los resultados obtenidos permitió establecer que la fuente de datos más confiable sobre la cantidad acumulada de emigrantes mexicanos definitivos, por lo menos en los últimos años, es el censo norteamericano. Esto puede considerarse como una constatación, porque tal fuente de datos es la única medición directa al respecto. De esta forma, las cifras estimadas de migrantes netos durante cada década, una vez que se acumulan desde 1850-60 y se van disminuyendo por efectos de la mortalidad, prácticamente reproducen los datos de los censos de Estados Unidos (de 1940 a 1990) sobre el monto de nativos de México que residen en Estados Unidos.

²⁵Para realizar estas estimaciones se aplicaron adecuadas relaciones de sobrevivencia, que fueron estructuradas con Tablas de Mortalidad para la República Mexicana de 1930 a 1980, y calculadas para el resto de decenios de acuerdo al comportamiento de la mortalidad en México de 1850 a 1920 y durante la década 1980-1990.

²⁶Debe aclararse que esta proyección no se efectuó por sexo y edades, sino sobre los totales iniciales de cada década para cada categoría de población. Por esta razón y para el caso de los hijos de inmigrantes nativos de Estados Unidos, las tasas de natalidad fueron aplicadas dos decenios después del de su nacimiento, es decir, no obstante que a lo largo de la proyección los sobrevivientes de los hijos de inmigrantes se fueron agregando de forma inmediata al conjunto de "descendientes de migrantes", los hijos de ellos sólo se calcularon (y se añadieron al mismo conjunto) cuando ya tenían edad de procrear.

²⁷Consultar, por ejemplo Patricia Morales (1982) y Mónica Verca (1982).

²⁸Las tasas brutas anuales de natalidad empleadas fueron 44.1, 45.0, 45.0, 45.2, 39.5 y 29.7 por mil respectivamente para los periodos 1850 a 1939, 1940 a 1949, 1950 a 1959, 1960 a 1969, 1970 a 1979 y 1980 a 1989. Para los mismos intervalos las tasas brutas anuales de mortalidad aplicadas fueron, correspondientemente: 25.0, 19.8, 13.9, 10.8, 8.2 y 5.9 por mil. Como consecuencia, el crecimiento natural de estos "pobladores" y sus descendientes (que equivale al crecimiento total, pues no se supuso que emigraban internacionalmente de forma definitiva) ascendió anualmente a: 1.90% entre 1850 y 1940, 2.52% en 1940-50, 3.08% en 1950-60, 3.36% en 1960-70, 2.97% en 1970-80 y 2.10% en 1980-90.

²⁹Para la realización de estos cálculos se emplearon tasas anuales de mortalidad general. Las tasas empleadas fueron las siguientes: 3.5% anual para el lapso 1850 a 1910; 3.3%, 3.0% y 2.51% anual para las décadas 1910-20, 1920-30 y 1930-40; 1.98%, 1.39% y 1.08% en los decenios 1940-50, 1950-60 y 1960-70; y 0.82% y 0.59% para los periodos 1970-80 y 199-80-90 respectivamente.

³⁰Conviene aclarar que un supuesto implícito en la estimación de los

descendientes de los inmigrantes y de los pobladores originales consiste en que las uniones (matrimonios) sólo se efectúan al interior de estos grupos poblacionales; o bien, que únicamente se contabilizan como descendientes de este par de grupos a la mitad de los hijos de aquellos de sus miembros que se unen con individuos que pertenecen a otros conjuntos poblacionales.

³¹Los censos realizados en los Estados Unidos en 1970, 1980 y 1990 enumeraron, respectivamente, a 13.393, 8.740 y 4.430 millones de individuos que se consideraron de origen mexicano.

³²Por otro lado, y en caso de acercarse las cifras estimadas a la realidad del fenómeno, los porcentajes 18.3%, 3.6% y 5.0% pueden considerarse indicaciones de la omisión censal, en Estados Unidos, de la Población de Origen Mexicano enumerada en 1970, 1980 y 1990 correspondientemente.

Anglo-Hispanic Relations In South Texas Schools From 1945 To 1993: A Triangulated Profile¹

Chad Richardson, María Olivia Villarreal-Solano,
and Cruz C. Torres*

Resumen

Por medio de tres estudios (uno etnográfico, otro de encuesta, y un análisis del contenido de anuarios de diez colegios en el sur de T  xas), se describen los patrones de cambio en las relaciones entre M  xico-Americanos y Anglosajones en las escuelas p  blicas. Los resultados demuestran un aumento constante en la integraci  n de grupos estudiantiles y de categor  as de profesionales, el cual en 1990 llega casi al nivel de la representaci  n de M  xico-Americanos en la poblaci  n de la regi  n. Sin embargo, los reportes de discriminaci  n no muestran un aumento constante, sino una "V" invertida. Factores asociados con la intergraci  n   tnica parecen producir un aumento de discriminaci  n en los primeros a  os, antes de que   sta disminuya en los a  os siguientes.

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Schools in the United States have long been a battleground where adults with competing interests push their private and political agendas. Today's battles for control of the curriculum (i.e., battles over sex education, "creation science," patriotism and multiculturalism) are part of a larger tradition of using schools to promote political,

religious, commercial, and cultural interests.

No issue, however, can match either the length or the intensity of strife generated by racial and ethnic diversity in the schools. The battle over segregation highlighted in 1954 by *Brown vs. Board of Education* was preceded by other battles and has been followed by a long series of race and/or ethnic issues, including bi-lingual education, quotas and busing.

The rather unique structure of the American school system, particularly its provisions for local control (local school boards and elections, local taxing and the concept of "neighborhood schools") is responsible for much of the conflict. Citizens with an axe to grind find it relatively easy to apply pressures in accordance with their particular interests. Though this openness serves to democratize the schools by making public officials directly accountable to the electorate, it also subjects the schools to the biases and bigotry of the more powerful segments of the local community.

Ethnic relations in the schools of the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas are part of this pattern of societal conflict waged in local schools (San Miguel, 1987). Patterns of ethnic relations in the schools reflect patterns of Anglo domination of Mexican-origin peoples in Texas over a period of 150 years or more. Indeed, the history of "The Valley," as the four counties of South Texas are called, is one of continuous inter-ethnic struggles, with tenuous, and usually brief periods of accommodation (see, for example, Martinez, 1988 and Montejano, 1987). The legacy of this conflict includes not only the battle for Texas independence, but continuing struggles that pitted relatively powerless Mexican-Americans against Anglo economic and political interests.

Today, the South Texas border area continues to take the brunt of ethnic and international issues breaking over the rest of the nation. It is the first to feel the impact of illegal immigration and society's periodic anti-alien hysteria. Likewise, while the rate of population increase is soon expected to make Hispanics the nation's largest minority group, they have long been a numerical majority in the Valley (though their ascending numerical superiority has not eliminated their status as a political and economic minority). Similarly, the concerns about the increasing marginalization of the poor in the United States are magnified many times in the Valley, which, year

after year, manages to report the highest rates of poverty in the nation. The plight of migrant farmworkers are similarly magnified in the Valley, the Winter home for over 100,000 migrant and seasonal farmworkers, the largest such group in the country. And, as highlighted in the debate about "winners and losers" in the North American Free Trade Agreement, the major projected losers are these same marginalized populations of South Texas.

The present study is an analysis of changes in Anglo-Hispanic relations in South Texas schools in the years following World War II. We will describe these changes and attempt to relate them to several theoretical and historical conceptualizations.

Specifically, we will examine how these societal and cultural conditions affect schools in the Valley. To do so, we will use a combination of three research strategies that examine Anglo-Hispanic relations in the schools over a period of approximately fifty years. In doing so, distinct patterns in the types and amount of discrimination practiced become evident.

Methodology

Data reported in this paper have three major sources: in-depth interviews, survey research, and content analysis of high school yearbooks. In the in-depth interviews, students at the University of Texas-Pan American conducted unstructured interviews with individuals who attended Valley schools during the years from 1945 to 1993. In this exploratory stage, no attempts were made at randomized sampling, though students were encouraged to select subjects in a way that would maximize inclusion of individuals representative of the local population. In these interviews, subjects were asked to describe what conditions were like in the schools, particularly those related to interaction between Anglos and Mexican-Americans. In this initial stage, we were more interested in determining general patterns, without attempting to measure their frequency in each research population. A primary strategy of these interviews was to elicit anecdotal accounts of incidents that would illustrate the interaction patterns experienced. These anecdotes were then scanned for computer access and the most frequently recurring patterns in life experiences were identified. Approximately 400 interviews were conducted, with key information (especially incidents) selected and

organized in a computerized database management program.

These patterns then served as the basis for the formulation of the second phase of the project—approximately 200 interviews based on a standardized, closed-response questionnaire. The questions for the questionnaire interview were designed to follow up on the patterns of interaction between Anglos and Mexican-Americans identified in the in-depth interviews and to describe how these patterns changed over time. Interviewers were trained to conduct interviews, using these questionnaires. Again, though randomization was not utilized, efforts were made to include all segments of the Valley population. Students often chose to interview people they knew, or sought out persons to whom they could be introduced by a friend or family member. Potential losses in representativeness through this technique were more than matched by the high degree of trust in the interviewer, particularly with the more delicate questions related to discrimination. Subsequent comparisons of this sample with the local population revealed a surprising correspondence to the known characteristics of the Valley population. Most likely, this is the result of the close approximation of the UTPA student population (also 80 percent Hispanic) to the Valley as a whole.

The third strategy, the analysis of high school yearbooks from ten Valley high schools, allowed us to extract comparative information related to the patterns of segregation and ethnic representation identified in the two preceding components. From these three sources, it is possible to identify and describe, in both statistical and ethnographic form, patterns of inter-ethnic relations in Valley schools from approximately the end of WWII to the present.

Analytical Context

American sociologists have tended to view ethnicity as a transitional stage in "modern" societies. Functionalists, following the lead of Durkheim and Weber, tend to see ethnic identification as a temporary phase that will be overcome by the assimilation and modernization processes.² Gordon (1964), for example, differentiates several types of assimilation, which he also conceptualized as stages leading to the eventual disappearance of ethnicity. In the first stage, cultural assimilation, the minority group adapts its cultural patterns to those of the host society. The second stage, structural

assimilation, is the large-scale entrance of the minority group into intimate interaction in cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society. Marital assimilation (biological mixing), the third stage, is accompanied by identificational assimilation (one's sense of peoplehood based on identification with the host society), attitude-receptional assimilation (the absence of prejudice), behavior receptional assimilation (absence of discrimination), and civic assimilation (absence of value and power conflicts).

While Marxist sociologists and those favoring conflict theory generally have theoretical positions opposite those of functionalists, most come together in seeing ethnic identity as a transitional phase in a minority's struggle for equality. For Marxist sociologists, class, rather than ethnicity, is the basis for exploitation. Ethnic identification among the poor only keeps them from uniting against their oppressor. Conflict theory tends to accept ethnicity as one of several dimensions of group interests that may or may not be seen as transitional.

Advocates of the internal colonialism model represent an extension of this point of view. They argue that racial minorities in the United States, especially Blacks, Hispanics, and Indians, are in essentially the same position as the colonized peoples of the Third World. Both groups, in this view, share the same historical conditions of (1) conquest (slavery and war); (2) domination justified by racism; (3) institutions (businesses, schools, and government) run by outsiders; and (4) efforts by the dominant group to destroy the minority group culture. The approach to ending domination suggested by advocates of internal colonialism requires that each minority (1) promote unity by keeping its culture; (2) seek to gain control of its own institutions; and (3) step up efforts to fight racism. Robert Blauner (1972) differentiates the colonial situation from the class situation of capitalism, stressed by the neo Marxists, precisely in the importance of culture as an instrument of domination.

While a similar discounting of ethnicity exists among American historians, some have concentrated on a primary role for ethnicity in the formation of the United States. Among these ethnohistorians, David Montejano is known for his research and interest in defining Anglo/Mexican relations in Texas. Montejano (1987) distinguishes four periods of ethnic relations in Texas (1) Incorporation, 1836-

1900; (2) Reconstruction, 1900-1920; (3) Segregation, 1920-1940; and (4) Integration, 1940-1986.

Rodolfo Alvarez (1985) also distinguishes four "generations" (groups with similar constraints and socialization experiences) of Mexican-Americans in the United States. His four generations are somewhat similar to Montejano's ethnic relations periods. For example, "the Creation Generation" coincides with the Incorporation period from 1836 to 1900, when economic subjugation followed by race and ethnic prejudice prevailed due to conquest. Alvarez (1985) points out that the Mexican newcomers after 1900 were not immigrants, but only migrants. He calls them "the Migrant Generation". The members of the host society did not distinguish between the "colonized" Mexicans and the "immigrant" Mexicans. The latter group could not function as immigrants because the host group did not recognize them as such. They were forced into the same kinds of jobs, housing, and subservience as the former. As Alvarez (1985:43) stated, "Sociopsychologically, the migrants, too, were a conquered people." This generation lasted until 1940, covering Montejano's periods of reconstruction and segregation. During the integration period of Montejano, Alvarez found that during World War II, "the Mexican-American Generation" appeared, showing cultural loyalty to the United States. Not until the late 1960s did the "Chicano Generation" appear.

Findings

The ethnographic accounts of life in South Texas schools revealed some distinct patterns of change in relations between Anglos and Mexican-Americans over the fifty-year period under study. As expected, there were many accounts of segregated conditions in the earlier periods, giving way to steady increases in integration and inter-ethnic interaction in later periods. One surprising finding in these life-history accounts, however, was the tendency for both Anglo and Mexican-Americans to recall the ten-year period following WWII in rather benign terms, with many denying the existence of discrimination against Mexican-Americans. One Mexican-American, for example, related the following:

"I am a member of the class of 1948. High School was a time I will never forget. I can't recall a time when I was treated badly by

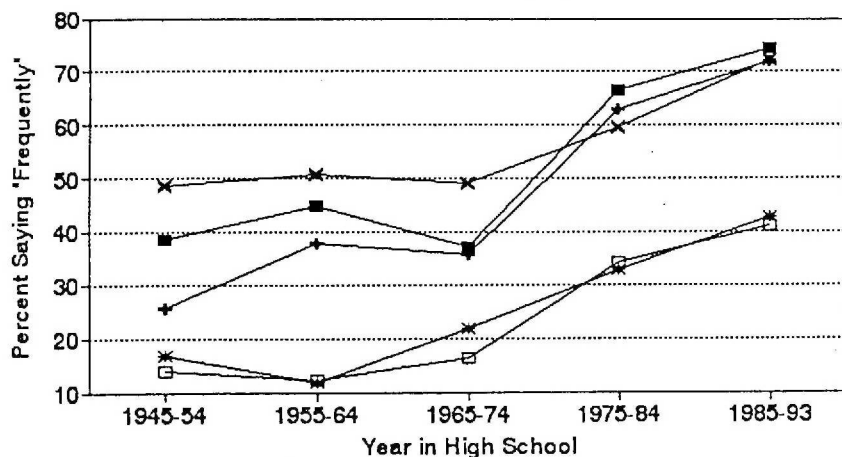
an Anglo teacher. As for Anglo students, I could not say because I never really associated with them. I vividly remember my second year (10th grade) English teacher Mrs. P _____. She was a wonderful person who inspired me to the best that I could be. Mrs. P _____ would always tell me that just because I was a "brownie," my dark skin didn't make me any less intelligent."

What makes this account interesting is the respondent's failure to recognize the apparent segregation ("I never really associated with them") and the paternalistic reference to "brownies" as either offensive or discriminatory. Her resignation to accept unequal relations is similarly reflected in the following account:

"Usually the only time we got together (Hispanics and Anglos) was at a prom or some other special event dance like that. We Hispanics went because it was a school activity, but the Anglos didn't hang around us. That's funny because even at our reunions all the Anglos sit on one side of the room and all the Hispanics sit on the other side, like we did in high school. At our last reunion a musician noticed this and said, 'What's the matter? Are all the good guys on one side and all the bad guys on the other?' They were civil to us but that is all. But that's the way it was."

Stories like these helped us identify patterns. The specific nature of these patterns and their actual rates of occurrence were measured by the questionnaire. Responses to items on the questionnaire concerning patterns of Anglo-Hispanic interaction will illustrate, and are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Recollections of Freq. of Inter-ethnic Interaction, by H.S. Yr.



Data presented in Figure 1 reveal a rather clear pattern of "social distance," similar to that suggested by Borgardus (1933). The highly personal forms of interaction (dating and dancing together) are much less common than the more impersonal forms (going to the same school, or sitting together in the same class). It is interesting that while all forms of interaction shown in Figure 1 increased in frequency over time, the two more personal forms continue to be widely separated from the more "distant" ones. Eating lunch together, which was midway between the personal and impersonal forms in the first period, joins the more impersonal forms in later years.

There was a great variety among the personal-history accounts relating to how Mexican-American students were treated by teachers, counselors, and administrators. Several patterns did emerge, however, the clearest of which were patterns in which school personnel discouraged Mexican-American students from applying to colleges, ignored them in favor of Anglos, punished them more harshly for infractions, and ridiculed or ignored their cultural and historical heritage. In addition, we heard frequent exclamations of surprise among respondents that Mexican-American teachers were often

harder on Mexican-American students than many of the Anglo teachers. The following accounts are somewhat representative of these forms of teacher discrimination.

During my high school years, I achieved the status of all district and team captain in my position (linebacker). One day, I went to my coach's office to seek some good advice on the best colleges available. I was astonished by his response. He said, 'Now Roberto son, your a damn good hitter, but that's all you'll ever be. Join the service where they need men like you or find a good vocational school that will accept you. But, forget about college. It's too hard for you.' It didn't stop there. I went to a counselor who told me the same thing! I did join the service, but afterwards, I graduated from college."

* * * * *

One time we were practicing reciting The Gettysburg Address in the auditorium. I knew it well and Mrs. O knew that I did. When I got on stage I froze and I couldn't remember it. Mrs. O laughed sarcastically and said, 'Mental block, huh, you dumb Mexican!'" I told her, "If you'll give me a hint I can do it. She had a good laugh and then asked one of the other students to help me.

* * * * *

"We never got a chance to go to the blackboard or to get up in front of the class to read because we were Mexican. Only the Anglo children got chosen. We never were picked to run errands for the teacher or had any class privileges. I remember thinking I wasn't as good as the Anglo children."

* * * * *

One morning our teacher was talking about health and nutrition. She asked me, "Roberto, what did you have for breakfast this morning?" Shocked by the question, I simply replied, "Miss, I had a cup of coffee with taco and beans." I could tell the answer was wrong by the grin of her face, the nodding of her head in disappointment, plus the laughter of my classmates. She proceeded to ask another student the same question. "Steve, what did you have for breakfast this morning?" Steve proudly replied, "Ma'am, I had cereal, milk, two eggs, toast, and orange juice for breakfast." Mrs. Nelson smiled in agreement and said. "Now class, that's a nutritional breakfast." From that moment on I got smart. Whenever a teacher asked what I had for breakfast, I would simply answer, "Ma'am, I had

cereal, milk, two eggs, toast, and orange juice!"

* * * * *

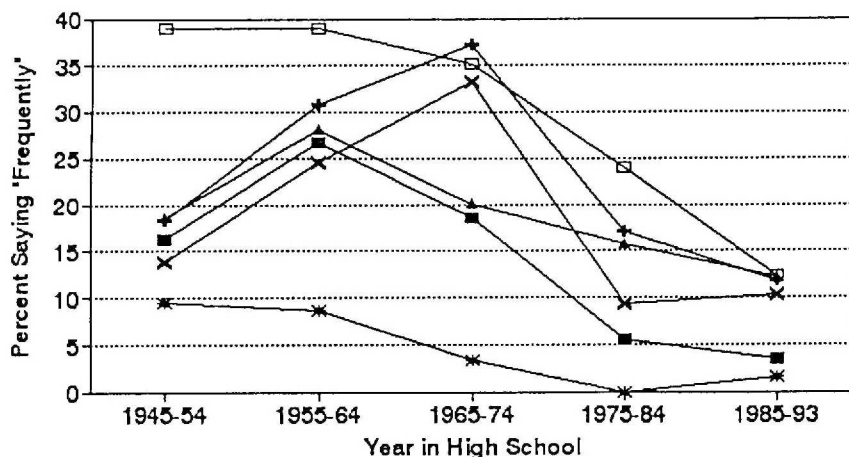
One of my teachers had told me to write my name, Roberto, in English because we lived in the United States and not in Mexico. When my father saw that I was writing Robert on my school papers, not Roberto, he got mad and made me put an O at the end of my name on every school paper I had.

* * * * *

In high school, even though my typing teacher, Mrs. M_____ was a Mexican-American, she didn't think of herself as one. In class she was always laughing and talking with the Anglos. The only thing she'd say to us was, "Get to work!" or "No talking!" She sat all the Mexican-Americans in the back. During tests, she would be back there with us making sure we didn't cheat. She never said anything bad to us, but it was the cold treatment that hurt. We couldn't even laugh if they said something funny. If we did, she would turn around and look at us until we'd stop and get back to work.

The frequency with such stories appeared in the initial in-depth interviews mandated inclusion of related questions in the questionnaire project. The results presented in Figure 2 show both the frequency of such actions and the patterns by which they have changed over time.

Figure 2. Recollections of Freq. of Discrim. by Teachers, by H.S. Year



■ Ridicule for Errors + M.A. Teach. Harsher * Ridicule M.A. Herit
 □ Don't Couns. Coll. × Punish M.A.s More ▲ Ignore M.A. Student

Two items in Figure 2, counselling Mexican-Americans against college and ridiculing their heritage, show a gradual decline over the years, though counselling Mexican-Americans away from college was high in the early years and ridiculing their heritage had a low initial occurrence. Two others, ignoring Mexican-American students and ridiculing them for errors, hit a peak in the 1955-64 period, and then continued to decline in subsequent years. The other two, teachers in general punishing Mexican-Americans more and Mexican-American teachers being harsher, didn't peak until the 1965-74 period, whereupon they also showed rather pronounced declines during the following ten years. It is significant that four items were remembered as being better during the first (1945-54) period than the one or two subsequent time frames.

We should remind the reader that these rates are based on how people who went to school during each time period remember such treatment. We have no direct measure of how frequently they actually occurred, though the patterns and their consistency with other findings suggest that they are probably quite accurate.

A similar pattern in recollections of discrimination first in-

creasing and then showing a steady decline was found in questions related to discrimination among the students themselves. Early in-depth accounts had common themes of Anglo students ridiculing Mexican-American food and the clothes they wore, Anglos and Mexican-Americans calling each other derogatory names, and finally, Mexican-Americans making fun of Anglos (though in Spanish, to give the effect of ridicule whose content could only be guessed). Some examples of these forms of treatment will illustrate major aspects of discrimination by students.

Marcella is 56. She remembers school with mixed emotions. "I would often go hungry at school. I had no money to buy the hot lunch offered and because I lived four miles from school, I couldn't walk home for lunch. My mom wanted me to take a lunch but I refused because the Anglos made fun of my taquitos made out of flour. So hungry was better. My pride was stronger than my stomach."

Olga remembers being made to feel inferior several times in school, but one occasion prevails in her mind. She remembers, "All my clothes were homemade. My mother made all of my clothes for me. One day I wore a dress I loved and the rich gringas laughed and made fun of me. They continually asked me, "Why are all your dresses homemade? Can't you afford to buy them?" I felt so ashamed and embarrassed.

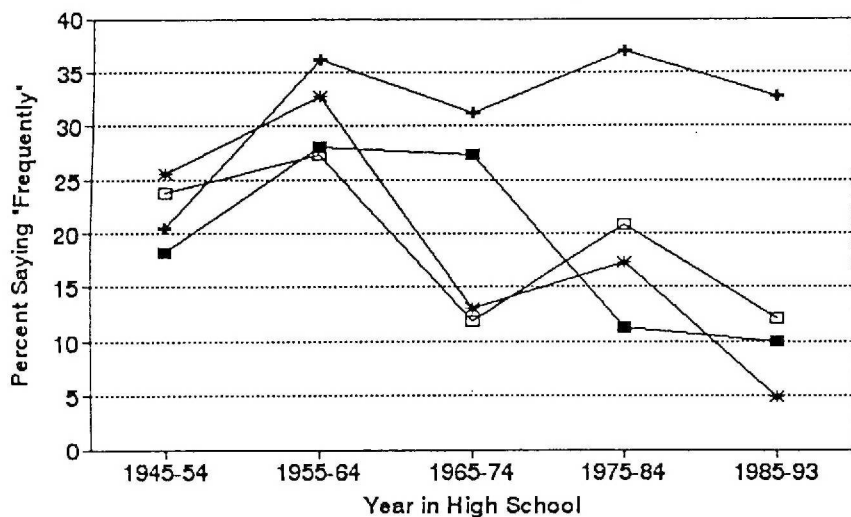
I was on my way to class when this group of Anglo boys started picking on me. They marched around me chanting, "Dirty, stinky Mexican!" I was deeply hurt. I tried to keep walking but they wouldn't let me out of their circle. I was hoping a teacher would help me. I looked around for a teacher and saw Mr. García. He saw what was happening and kept walking. I felt like I had been stabbed in the back by my own people. Just then, Mr. C _____ stepped in and stopped the boys. He made them apologize and dragged them to the principal's office. It was a very good feeling to be helped by Mr. C _____."

"I have blond hair, green eyes, and very light skin, though both my parents are Hispanic. All my life, people have mistaken me for an Anglo. Those who don't know me often talk about me in Spanish, not realizing I know every word they are saying. I feel sorry

for the Anglos because I know how they have been discriminated against too. (L. de la Vina, 1994).

Questions based on stories like these were built into the questionnaire to determine how frequently such forms of discrimination were recalled. The responses related to student discrimination from the questionnaire project are summarized in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Recollections of Freq. of Student Discrimination, by H.S. Yr.



—■— Scorn MA food/cl —+— Scorn Ang. In Sp —*— Angl.call MAs na —□— MAs call Angl.na

These results repeat, in an even more pronounced way than Figure 2, the pattern of inter-ethnic relations being remembered as better in the 1945 to 1954 period than in the ten years that followed. Each of the four forms of student discrimination fits this pattern of an inverted "V". In addition, each form also showed a decline in the following (1965-74) period, though the decline was more pronounced for name calling (by each group) than for the two forms of ridicule. In the long run, three forms of discrimination manifested significant decline, with the form of Mexican-Americans saying things about Anglos in Spanish alone remaining high in subsequent years. Most likely, this is due to the great increase of Mexican-Americans in the schools, making Anglos a numerical minority in many Valley high

schools by 1990.

The changing demographics of school populations is also related to another set of patterns identified—the frequency with which Mexican-Americans participated in key roles in Valley high schools. Stories related by respondents from the earlier periods frequently mentioned Mexican-Americans being excluded from student-life activities and from teaching and administrative positions. The following accounts give some indication of this pattern.

All my high school years I tried to impress the Anglo girls. I even tried out for the cheerleading squad. This was about 1958 and the day of the try-outs I noticed I was the only Hispanic girl with dark legs. I ran out of there and never tried out for anything again. The worst times I can remember were probably during lunch when all my friends and I would sit together. Everyone would stare at us as if we were from another planet. I still ask myself why Anglos were so prejudiced in those times.

* * * * *

An Anglo woman recalls, "One day our English teacher announced to the class that the Key Club was only for white folks and not the Mexican-Americans. When asked why she said, 'because those people are different and it will look bad if we allow them to become members.' When I got home I asked my Dad why it was that Mexican-American were different? He responded, 'because they don't act like us, they don't speak our language, they don't think like we do; they are losers.' I realized that my parents only had "white" friends, they only shopped where "white folk" shopped, 'they attended luncheons with only "white folk" and we lived in a "white folk" neighborhood. As I look back to those years, I wish I could do it all over again, just to make friends with the Mexican-American students."

* * * * *

"You always had a couple of Hispanics in groups like Student council but most of the time the Anglos had all the positions. They could communicate better and had more confidence. That's just the way things were."

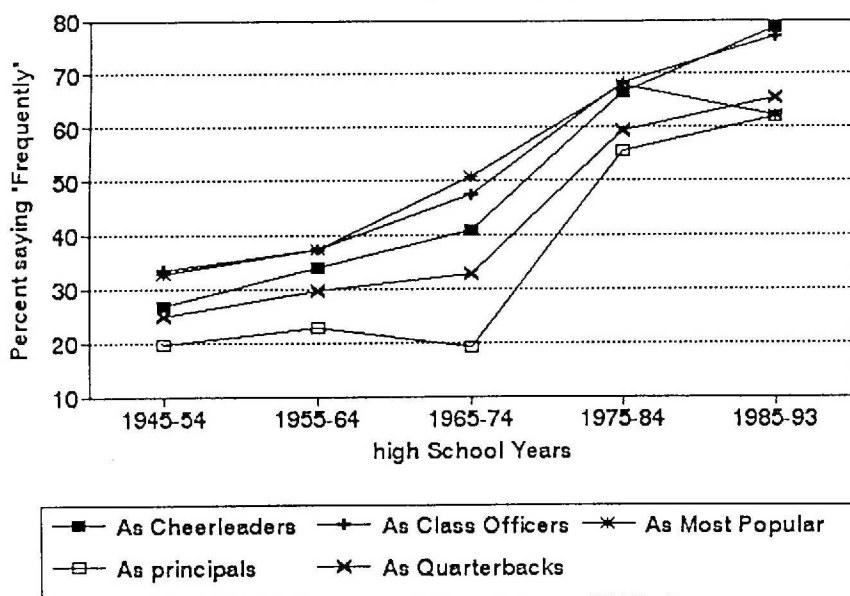
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All the officers of the clubs were mostly Anglo. We never really thought much of it. We just thought that's the way it's supposed

to be. The first time I really did think about it was when my sister was in band. My parents and all of us went to the Pigskin Jubilee. I remember how shocked we were when we heard the La Joya drum major had a Mexican name. We said, "La Joya's drum major is a Mexicana?" It was funny to me. It was like I just didn't expect it.

Results from the questionnaire project also revealed, at least from the recollections of respondents, some of the patterns of exclusion and of change over the years in relation to in-school forms of exclusion. These are presented in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Recollections of Freq. of Mex. Ams. in Key Roles, by H.S. Yr.

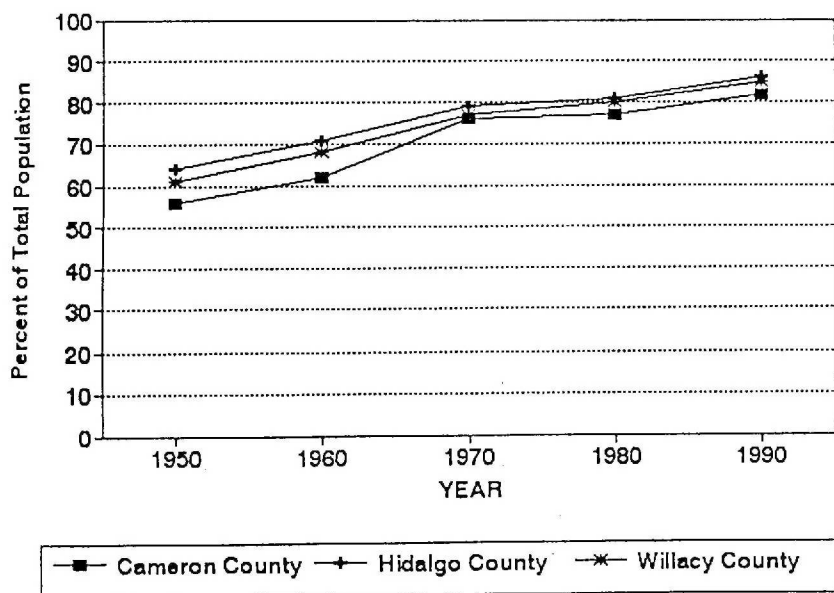


Unlike the inverted "V" pattern of the preceding figures, the results shown in Figure 4 show a steady increase in participation by Mexican-Americans in school organizations and positions. For each of the forms listed, the increase from the first to the second period was rather slight. In the third period, the rate accelerated for class officers and most popular, stayed about the same for cheerleaders and quarterbacks, and declined slightly for remembering Mexican-Americans as the high school principal. In the fourth period, the increase was substantial for all categories, with some tapering off occurring in the

final period (and a slight decrease for Mexican-Americans in the most popular category).

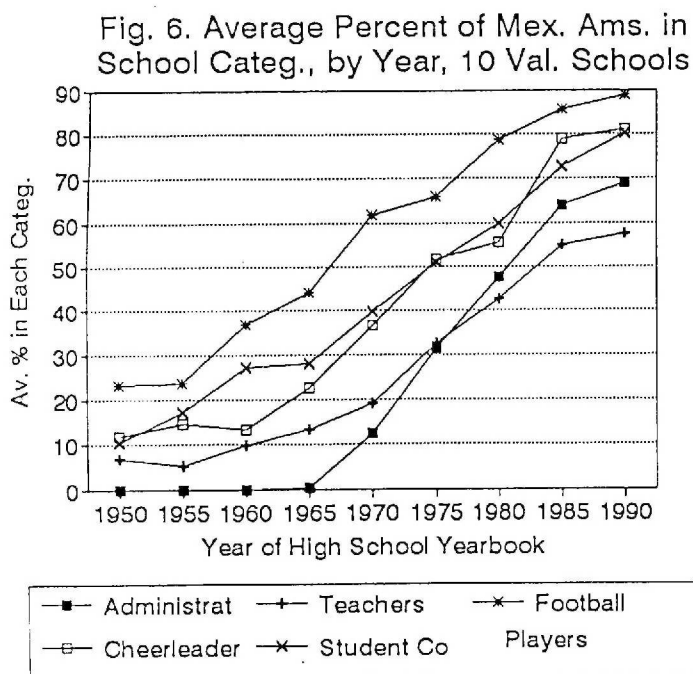
This overall pattern of recollections of increased participation by Mexican-Americans in key roles in high schools must be examined in light of demographic data for the same period. It is worth asking whether the increases might be due to a corresponding increase in the Mexican-American population over the approximately fifty years shown in the preceding figures. Figure 5 shows how the percentage of Spanish-surnamed population³ in three South Texas counties changed over the years analyzed.

Figure 5. % Sp. Surname Population in Three South Texas Counties, 1950-1990



Though the Spanish surnamed population did increase over the time period covered by the study, it alone cannot account for the rather dramatic increase in participation percentages of Mexican-Americans shown in Figure 4. Mexican-Americans went from about 60 percent of the population to roughly 80 percent, a 20 percent increase. Still, if one remembers that most Mexican-Americans dropped out of school (or were pushed out) in the early years, it is clear that many schools went from being predominantly Anglo institutions to those consisting primarily of Mexican-Americans.

Because most of the preceding data has been based on *recollections* of rates of participation, it is important to get data that reflect actual counts. This was the purpose of the third stage of the project, the analysis of high school yearbooks. Basing our count on the number of Spanish surnames in different participation categories, we were able to determine how such rates changed over time. These data are presented in Figure 6 showing how the percentage scores of Mexican-Americans in each category averaged⁴ among the ten schools studied.



* Donna, Edinburg, Harlingen, Lyford, McAllen, Mission, Pharr-San Juan-Alamo, Port Isabel

The data in Figure 6 reflect actual counts of Mexican-American participation rates, at five-year intervals, in ten Valley high schools. Five of the schools selected (Donna, Lyford, Port Isabel, Raymondville and Weslaco) are relatively small Valley towns and the other half (Edinburg, Harlingen, McAllen, Mission and Pharr-San Juan-Alamo are larger cities (operationally measured by having at least two high schools in 1990).

These data uniformly show very low rates of participation in the 1950 and 1955 counts for all categories. It was especially low for

administrators (mainly principals). For the years 1950, 1955 and 1960, not one of the ten schools examined had a Mexican-American principal. In 1965 there was only one. At that point, the percentages increased rather quickly, even surpassing that of Mexican-American teachers by 1980. A careful look at the data, however, reveal that most of the Mexican-American principals in 1980 were in the smaller schools (54% Mexican-American principals) and the larger schools had only 35% in this category.

The category into which Mexican-Americans appear to have been "integrated" first was football teams. Indeed, this category was the highest for all the years examined. In many of the personal history accounts, some Mexican-American players complained of being "benched" so that Anglo kids (especially those with influential parents) could play. The pressures to win, however, often mitigated against such practices and probably were mainly responsible for higher percentages in this category.

Those categories based more on popularity and prestige (student council and cheerleaders) appear throughout the years in question between football players and the professional categories of teachers and administrators. Indeed, by 1990, these two student categories were close to the overall percentage of Hispanics in the Valley.

Conclusions

During the almost fifty years following WWII, Mexican-Americans have experienced rather substantial structural assimilation in the schools of South Texas, as shown in all three research methodologies utilized. A comparison of ethnographic accounts from the early years of this period with those of more recent years showed much higher levels of inclusion at virtually all levels within the public schools. This pattern of inclusion was also found in both the survey data and by the analysis of high school yearbooks. The pace of inclusion shown in all three methodologies has been steady, though some high school categories, particularly those of considerable power or of higher levels of income, have consistently lagged behind the other categories.

These data do not, however, support the conclusion that Mexican-Americans have power, prestige, or incomes proportionate

to their representation in the Valley population. Their drop-out rates are still several times those of Anglos. Their exam scores on standardized tests are still much lower than the state-wide average. Proportionately fewer attend college, especially in prestigious universities. High paying jobs in the Valley still go to Anglos in much higher proportions than their representation in the population.

Still, the degree of "inclusion" in Valley high schools is remarkably great, given the extensive segregation, discrimination, and exclusion practiced in the years immediately following WWII. If, as Gordon asserts, structural assimilation is the large-scale entrance of the minority group into intimate interaction in cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society, Mexican-Americans in South Texas certainly have come much closer to this level in the schools. For many, the increased interaction with Anglos, coupled with economic barriers to mobility, would favor the development of what Gordon (1964, 51-54) called an "ethclass." An ethclass, according to Gordon, has a historical identification with their ethnic group and a participational identification with their social class. If the trend toward increased cross-ethnic dating continues (as shown in Figure 1), marital assimilation may become the norm.

The data presented in this paper also show that the levels of behavior receptional assimilation (absence of discrimination) did not follow the same pattern of rather constant increases found for rates of structural assimilation. More specifically, the patterns of discrimination shown in Figures 2 and 3 were characterized more by an inverted "V" pattern, whereas inclusion in school activities and interaction across ethnic lines, as shown in Figures 1, 4 and 6, followed a rather steady upward curve.

This has several implications. It might be argued, for example, that people who went to school in the first period have selective memories that filter out harsh treatment, leaving a "good-old-days" distortion of reality. While this certainly happened in some cases (as evidenced by some ethnographic accounts), we do not find it a satisfactory explanation. If so, it would seem that those who remember little discrimination would also remember little segregation. Such was not the case. Their recollections of being segregated corresponded with actual measures of the pattern of change from segregation to structural assimilation found in the yearbook study. Thus we

have reason to trust their accounts of how bad things were.

A better explanation is suggested by the colonial model alluded to earlier. This model suggests that colonizers (in this case, the Anglo society) institutionalize mechanisms that not only keep "colonized peoples" in a subservient status, but find subtle means to legitimize this exploitative or racist behavior in the minds of those over whom it is exercised. In the early years of this study, few Mexican-Americans were even allowed in the schools, and fewer still gained positions of prestige or authority. Those that did, internalized the beliefs of the "rightness" of this exclusion. Many even helped maintain the domination of fellow Mexican-Americans by losing their identification with their own ethnic group.

This conclusion is supported by expressions, found in many of the ethnographic accounts, stating something like, "that's just the way things were." Some were made to feel ashamed of their "Mexicanness" and bought into the belief that Anglos were more deserving of preferential treatment because they were seen as more self confident, better at expressing themselves, at being leaders, or at virtually all school-related activities.

The inverted "V" pattern in accounts of discrimination, we believe, stems from two factors, both related to the increasing desegregation of the schools. Increased contact, in the early stages, often leads to conflict. The dominant group, sensing a loss of position, tends to react with greater hostility than when minorities "know their place."

In addition, desegregation brings many minority individuals into the schools who have not internalized aspects of the dominant culture, especially ideas that legitimize their subservient position. Such individuals will likely experience more hostility, and are more apt to see it as discrimination.

Thus, while integration and increased personal interaction across ethnic lines (similar to Gordon's structural assimilation) may increase at a steady rate, levels of discrimination may evidence a different pattern. In the end, however, levels of discrimination tend to catch up, in the sense that inclusion results in lower *eventual* levels of discrimination.

Today, South Texas schools appear to be marked more and more by cleavages *across* ethnic lines than simply *within* them. Class

distinctions, for example, seem to be more important to students than ethnicity, though ethnic barriers do still exist. In addition, institutionalized discrimination seems to have largely replaced bigotry. Today, Mexican-Americans in Valley schools suffer more from indirect and often unintentional forms of discrimination, though such forms are not necessarily less damaging. Funding formulas, norm-references exams, and benign tracking devices (such as some programs of bilingual education) now do what bigotry and exploitation previously accomplished. Though the means of maintaining institutionalized inequality has changed, the power gap between Anglos and Hispanics narrows at an iceberg pace. Today, South Texas schools reflect little of the image of inequality, though much of the substance remains.

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Notes

¹Preliminary versions of different portions of this paper were presented at the 1993 meetings of the Association for Borderlands Studies (Corpus Christi) and at the 1994 meetings of the Rio Bravo Association (Kingsville, Texas).

²Urbanization, in this view, serves to homogenize cultures, while rationality works to minimize the biases of ethnocentrism.

³The data in this figure are from the U.S. Census, which looked at surname, rather than nation of origin, for most of the years covered.

⁴Percentage scores from each school were averaged, rather than taking overall average scores, to maintain a rough equality between small and large schools. Had we used overall percentages, the results would have more closely approximated the percentage distribution of the larger schools.

The Indian in Latin American History. Ed. by John E. Kicza, Wilmington, Delaware: S.R. Books 1993.

"The Indians have always lived with war because the war up until now has always been against them, now it will be for the Indians and for the whites. In any case we have the opportunity to die fighting instead of from dysentery, like how the Indians from Chiapas normally die."

Subcomandante Marcos
Proceso, 10 de enero de 1994, p.8

The siege of San Cristobal de las Casas by various Mayan Indian groups who call themselves the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (el Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional) on January 1st, 1994, the day that the NAFTA accord was officially in place, struck the international community by surprise. Many wondered how poor, impoverished Mayan Indians could organize themselves militarily in such an efficient manner. And why were these Indians revolting in a Latin American country that is considered by many on the international scene to be the most peaceful and democratic of them all.

The answers to these questions lie in the cultural history of indigenous peoples throughout the Americas, particularly Latin America, where in some countries, such as Bolivia and Guatemala, Indians constitute the majority of the population. In others, such as Mexico, Ecuador and Peru, the Indian population is numerous enough to create a pluralistic society in these nation-states. In still others, such as Brazil, Columbia, Nicaragua, and Panama, the Indian peoples may be smaller in number but receive recognition and attention as distinct ethnic groups. The publication of *The Indian in Latin American History: Resistance. Resilience and Acculturation*, edited by John E. Kicza, could not have come at a more appropriate time. Now that the celebration of the quincentennial anniversary of the "encounter" between Europeans and indigenous peoples of the Americas has come to an end, and recognition by the United Nations of 1992 as the "Year of the Indigenous People" is history, there are even greater reasons to continue this discourse. Such elaborate observances may serve to attract world attention to Indian cultures past and present, but the stark realities many Indians endure is quite different from the romantic

portrayals of them as "noble Indians," or grandiose festivities honoring their continued existence. I recently saw the documentary "Abriendo el Surco: La Situación Indígena en México" produced by the Mexican film group "Canal 6 de Julio". The video showed that on October 12, 1992, in honor of Columbus' "discovery of America", two contrasting public events took place in Mexico City. Hundreds upon hundreds of indigenous people from Chiapas, Oaxaca, and other rural communities along the way, marched to the nation's capital to demand that the government listen to their protests of the grinding subpoverty, landless conditions in which they are forced to live and the exploitative treatment they receive. On this same day the government had sponsored a parade and public display of Mexican-Indians in their costumes performing their traditional dances to promote appreciation and better understanding of Mexico's Indians and their rich cultural traditions. When the Ministry of the Interior learned that the demonstrators planned to march to the Zócalo on this same day, members of Gobernación quickly arranged to meet the demonstrators before they entered the city to listen to them, rather than face an embarrassing and problematic situation. Paradoxes such as these can be found in all American countries where Indian peoples have maintained their cultural traditions and ethnic identities separate from the mainstream society.

As we approach the next millennium, human cultures continue to remain fluid, adaptive, and persistent despite the ever-increasing barrage of social, cultural, political, economic, and environmental changes that affect us all. Considering the histories of the numerous Indigenous cultures in Latin America, most have been filled with violence, conflict, subjugation, exploitation, and destruction that has threatened to sever the core of these people's social and physical existence. Anthropologists, historians, other social scientists, and no doubt state and national governing bodies, continue to be awed by the resiliency of such cultural groups.

According to official statistics, there are 30,101,000 Indians living in the Americas, 601,000 in Canada, 1,500,000 in the U.S., and 28,000,000 in Latin America, 15,000,000 of whom reside in South America and 13,000,000 in Mexico and Central America.¹ One must keep in mind that not all indigenous cultures are alike; in fact tremendous differences and variations have existed through history in

their languages, dress, subsistence technologies, ideology, social and political structures, etc. In the introduction to *The Indian in Latin American History*, this point was well made by the editor, John Kicza, who writes "It is only to nonnatives that these peoples can be classified into a collective population termed 'Indian.' They were as distinct from each other in language and ethnic identity as their counterparts were in Europe—and often as contentious. In fact, the major differences between Native Americans and the peoples of Europe, Africa and Asia (for the peoples of these three continents shared broadly similar characteristics) were largely accidents of history and geography," (p. XIV).

Most indigenous peoples in the Americas share a common history of conquest and domination. There are several factors, however, in Spanish colonial practices and policies which account for some basic differences in the histories, and, hence, contemporary cultural make-up of native Americans in Latin America, as opposed to "English America". Kicza writes that unlike other European colonists who rarely went beyond establishing trading bases in new lands, the Spanish made a concentrated effort to permanently settle all the lands they laid claim to (p. XV). This involved bringing more immigrants (Spanish women were especially needed and desired), importing animals, plants and technology, as well as establishing cities and settling rural areas for ranching, agricultural and mining enterprises to support the city dwellers and the crown. He adds that what also makes this process of colonization distinct is that the Spanish saw that in order to effectively govern and mobilize Indian labor it was in their best interests to maintain many elements of the Native American social structure.

In addition, the zealous campaign to Christianize Indians in order to "save their souls", pacify them so they could better utilize their labor, and bring them more into mainstream society was never implemented to the same degree by other European colonists. In fact, at the onset Spanish authorities and Catholic missionaries even debated whether Indians had souls at all. The conclusion was that Indians were fully rational beings with souls who were quite capable of assimilating, and in so doing would live a "far better" life in the Hispanic world. As a result the Law of the Indies was written into Spanish law decreeing that since Indians were cognizant human

beings and did indeed have souls they could not be mercilessly slaughtered nor enslaved. The blacks brought over from Africa, on the other hand, did not have souls, it was decided, and thus could be treated as slaves in the Americas. How these theologians and aristocrats came to such "divine" interpretations can only be understood by the Spanish need for cheap and free labor to create their new empire. The only way to accomplish this was through theological doctrine as a means of validating their racist actions and policies. Despite the distinction they made between Indians and blacks, the situation for the Indians did not improve much.

Finally, the history of the political and economic development of these European colonies into independent nation-states was different in Latin America from that in the United States and Canada. Consequently, the history of the Indians in these countries was also quite different. In more recent history the imperialistic policies of the United States towards Latin America and the exploitation of her natural resources has had a tremendous impact on this once rich and powerful Spanish empire in the Americas. Latin America is now composed of developing nations, many of which are struggling to maintain a stable government and viable economy, as well as grappling with their insurmountable national debts. This in turn has a reverberating effect on the contemporary indigenous peoples in Latin America.

While colonial states enforced direct subjugation of Indian populations for labor, the post-colonial nation-states have strived to assimilate Indians into the national culture, transforming them into citizens and in so doing, simultaneously gaining sovereignty over their lands. Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer, editors of the book *Nation-States and Indians in Latin America* discuss the need to perceive these indigenous groups within a larger national context. David Maybury-Lewis, in this volume (ibid: 231-232) writes that "over the centuries the conquerors and settlers have been trying to break up Indian communities and abolish the very category of Indian, arguing that Indians should cease to be Indian and become undifferentiated citizens of their respective countries."

The underlying goal of the Mexican indigenist movement since its inception in the 1930's has been "the integration of indigenous communities into the economic, social and political life of the

nation" (Caso 1958:27). As in other Latin American countries, the underlying sentiments are that the Indians are an obstacle to progress. They are the ones that are keeping the country from developing to its economic potential. In many instances Indian lands are sought after for their natural resources just waiting to be exploited. Now, as in the Porfirio Diaz era in the late 19th century, foreign individuals and businesses can own land in Mexico. The recent amendment of article 27 of the Mexican constitution allows for the privatization of communally owned ejido property. With these new developments in the changing character of the Mexican nation, coupled with the demographic growth of the nation, land in and of itself will be in great demand. Land shortages among the rural peoples is already a problem. What will happen to the peasants, to the Indians that rely on their lands for subsistence and survival? Although the Mexican Revolution has been over since 1917, numerous Indian groups, such as the Huichol, still do not have legal title to their land. In the Huichol Indian sierra in the states of Jalisco, Nayarit, Durango and Zacatecas, Huichol-owned lands are shrinking at an alarming rate due to the encroachment of mestizo ranchers and their cattle. Among Mayan Indian groups in Chiapas, the shortage of land, and unfulfilled promises of land distribution, are at the core of Mayan Indian problems, fueling the boiling cauldron that led to the recent Zapatista uprising.

In Mexico another presidential election is underway. In preparation for this, the PRI developed a social program, called "Solidaridad", that targeted the poor, rural sectors of the nation and that has become President Salinas de Gortari's pet slogan, alongside Tratado de Libre Comercio (NAFTA) in the government's campaign. Solidaridad, which professes to support development projects that will improve the lives of poor rural populations, specially indigenous ones, has met greater success in promoting the PRI's fortunes than it has in actually raising the standards of living for many Indian groups.

Among the Huichols with whom I work, the Solidarity programs included aid in building houses from fired brick, cinder blocks, and cement with tin or fabricated shingles, the latter of which are frequently impregnated with asbestos. Only Huichols who wanted to build houses around the ceremonial center were eligible to receive

assistance. Now the character of Huichol settlement patterns in this community is changing rapidly. Many Huichols, who normally depend on hunting and gathering and subsistence agriculture, and who customarily live in ranchos scattered through the countryside where they tend their crops and animals, are moving into this newly created pueblo. They are relying more and more on commercial enterprises to support themselves, and when business is not good, they go hungry. Even then, whatever money is left is often spent on junk food and beer in the local stores. The infrastructure of this original ceremonial center cannot support the new population density. Water and sanitation, and consequently the state of health for this population have rapidly deteriorated. Aside from the health dangers of the asbestos coated shingles on the new roofs, the brick and cement floors are not as insulated as the traditional adobe houses, and nearby firewood is scarce because so many of the trees have already been felled by members of this growing pueblo.

Two other programs in this community developed through the Solidaridad program were geared more towards women and their participation. A gasoline-driven mill for the community was given to my Huichol comadre with the understanding that within two years time she would repay the government for the mill. She received a brief orientation on operating the mill, but no instructions in how to maintain or fix it if there were mechanical problems. Needless to say, the nearest gasoline station is 8 hours away by road. To compound the problem, in order to pay back the money owed for the mill, she had to start charging community members to grind their maize into flour for tortillas. The only time most people were willing to pay the price for such services was during the ceremonies in the center, when the women had to make large amounts of tortillas. Even so, this ceremonial cycle in the center of the community lasts only a total of 3 to 4 months out of the year.

The second of these projects was the building of an oven to cook bread and to teach some of the women to make bread, especially sweet bread and pastries. In the beginning the women involved in this project were enthusiastic and devoted more time to making sugar-covered bread and pastries than maize tortillas. The typical diet for many worsened, rather than improved, in a community where poor diet and malnutrition are common, and are a major contributing force

to the high incidence of infant mortality. As of this writing the project was abandoned because most of the business was during the school year, the greatest clientele being the school children and teachers at the local elementary school. During the summer the school stands empty. The women felt it was not worth their while to put in so many hours of work for such meager economic returns.

Solidaridad is one of President Salinas de Gotari's most popular programs to exemplify the accomplishments he has made during his presidential term. Millions of dollars have been spent on the publicity for this program. For the last two years people from all sectors of the nation have been blitzed by commercials showing smiling, proud mestizos or Indian-looking individuals praising the benefits of Solidaridad and the improvement it has made in their lives. Ironically, President Salinas de Gotari opened his fourth annual Solidarity Week in the embattled Ocosingo region just three months before the violence erupted. Considering the reality of the Chiapas Mayan situation, stripped of highly creative media wizardry, it is no wonder that in the 20th century, after decades of poverty, racism, unresolved land disputes, unkept political promises and a population that is growing at a rate twice that of the nation, Indian groups in Chiapas decided to revolt.

What makes the Chiapas situation unique is that the insurgency was planned and executed for the first of January, 1994, the day when the NAFTA accord was officially put into place, and a day when in San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas Mayan Indians from the Zapatista Army of National Liberation found their way into newspapers and television reports around the world. At a time when the Mexican government needed more than ever to present the country to international investors as a stable, peaceful, democratic nation with a great economic future, the Chiapas uprising destroyed such an image, an image that had been so well crafted by expensive and controlled media campaigns.

Perhaps even more intriguing is the spokesperson for the Zapatistas, subcomandante Marcos, who is decidedly not a Mayan Indian, nor any kind of Indian for that matter. He is a mestizo, of mixed Indian and Spanish ancestry, has an advanced education, and claims not to be the leader of this movement. In interviews with this enigmatic man, he stresses that he is involved in the Zapatista struggle

because he could no longer sit back and watch the Chiapan Mayan Indians suffer the consequences of such extreme exploitation and poverty. Which brings up the issue of Indian culture and ethnicity. Throughout the long history of Spanish rape and plunder of Indian cultures in Latin America, many people who have a great degree of Indian blood would never claim themselves to be Indian, whereas others who consider themselves as Indians have mixed ancestry somewhere in their past. So what is it that makes up Indianness and identification as distinct ethnic groups?

Let us begin with the definition of culture as the commonly learned and shared beliefs, attitudes, values or ideals that are characteristic of a society. Yet this definition does not go far enough in explaining why some cultures, such as those of the Indians, continue to exist as separate ethnic groups outside of the mainstream of the culture at large. George Pierre Castille and Gilbert Kushner in their edited volume *Persistent Peoples: Cultural Enclaves in Perspective* write that the persistence of entire peoples as groups can be referred to as enclavements. Geographical isolation and differences in physical types may in part contribute to this, as well as the notion of a homeland. In Latin America, however, there has been so much disruption among indigenous groups with wars, persecution, migrations, relocations, etc. that determining the original homelands for many is a difficult task. Nevertheless, Indians who occupy a certain land over several generations and maintain essential knowledge about that environment for their survival, imbue the land with sacred meaning. In this sense, the notion of a homeland goes beyond physical and geographical domains, rather the people themselves appropriate it as part of their living history, and an all encompassing part of their cosmological realm.

In regard to geographical isolation, no Indian group is or ever has been completely isolated. Before the Europeans landed on the shores of the Americas, the various Indian cultures had elaborate systems of communication and trade that linked the lowlands with the highlands, and there is increasingly more evidence in the archeological record of contact and interaction among Indians of North and South America, as well as the Caribbean.

As for physical differences as markers of cultural separateness, it is often difficult in some countries, such as Mexico, Guate-

mala, and even parts of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, to determine upon first glance if some individuals are Indian or mestizo. Maintaining a separate language and dress definitely contribute to defining ethnic boundaries between peoples, but they are aspects of a more inclusive cultural phenomenon at work: the continuity of common identity based on a mutual understanding of a set of symbols. The anthropologist Edward Spicer (1980:347, 456) elaborated on this concept of collective identity as to how "the persistence of a people rests on a set of meanings about actual events of history, as uniquely experienced by the people and stored as it were in a stock of symbols.... The persistence or stability of a people lies in the consistency of the successive interpretations with one another. If together they make up a single interrelated set of meanings through many generations then the phenomena of enduring people emerges."

To place these ethnically distinct Indian groups into the context of living within nation-states, one must add that these groups are competing for resources and they utilize dress, language, rituals and other aspects of culture to accomplish their interests. In this broader perspective of Indian ethnic identity Jean Jackson (1991:130) defines Indianness "as a recognizably distinct group of people substantially embedded in a larger society," whose "inventory of culturally distinct traits (has) been produced to a significant extent by interaction with other sectors of the society."

An interesting example is the situation in Tepic, Nayarit, which for years has been home to a scattered community of Huichols, many of them bilingual teachers and their families, who had settled in the city to try and better their economic lives. These Huichols united to try and find a place where they might establish a cohesive settlement for all the Huichols and families who were living dispersed throughout the city, many in conditions of great poverty. This group called upon a shaman to sing for them to ask the gods for a sign where they should establish themselves. The shaman identified the destined location as a hill above the Mololoa river, overlooking downtown Tepic. Here, the group claimed, the gods had marked the exact location with a large rock in the shape of a sheep's head. This, the shaman said, was where the temple and encircling residential houses should be built. Although this particular piece of prime real estate had already been divided into lots for a future mestizo colonia, one of the

leaders of the group, a well known Huichol artist, talked to the Nayarit governor at that time, convincing him to set this land aside for a Huichol temple and settlement. During the same stretch of time, this governor was enticing interested foreigners to invest in tourist development along the tropical coastal region of the state. He later sold much of a pristine peninsula, Punta de Mita, and other beachfront property to Japanese, French, Canadian, and U.S. investors.

To return to the idea of indigenous ethnic identity, I would also like to touch upon the term acculturation. In the field of Anthropology, this term was defined by Melville Herskovits (1960) in his book *Man and His Works*, as the process of extensive borrowing of aspects of culture in the context of superordinate-subordinate relations between societies. Acculturation usually occurs as the result of external pressure. Herskovits was articulating this idea of acculturation during the time of the Cold War in the 1950's. In retrospect this may not be the most concise definition of the term for present day concerns. Perhaps acculturation could be best explained as learning two cultures, or learning to operate in two or more cultures. Acculturation is really more a matter of accommodation depending upon the situation. This is quite different from assimilation, where one disregards his or her own culture and absorbs into the cultural tradition of the dominant culture or population.

Having provided some degree of contextualization in regard to Latin American Indian history and important concepts such as culture, ethnicity, and acculturation, I would like to return to the book *The Indian in Latin American History: Resistance, Resilience, and Acculturation* and the articles presented in this publication. Many of the authors are well known scholars in this field of study and all of the articles have been previously published in various anthologies, journals or as chapters in books. Because they all deal with history they will never become outdated. Even the most recent articles, "Ethnicity and Class Conflict in Rural Mexico" by Frans J. Schryer and "The Maintenance of Mayan Distinctiveness" by Evon Z. Vogt, both published in 1990, encapsulate contemporary history. Ten years down the line, they will mark a certain point in time in the history of indigenous groups, in this case, certain Indian groups in Mexico.

The temporal span of these articles ranges from late pre-Hispanic to contemporary times. The first chapter is an article by

Thomas C. Patterson on "The Inca Empire and Its Subject Peoples." The Spanish colonial period is addressed in articles by Steve J. Stern, "Early Spanish Indian Accommodation in the Andes", Nancy M. Farris, "Persistent Maya Resistance and Cultural Retention in Yucatán"; Ronald Spores' discussion of the Mixtecs in "Spanish Penetration and Cultural Change in Early Colonial Mexico," and William B. Taylor's "Patterns and Variety in Mexican Village Uprisings." Articles that address specific Indian situations in the Post-Colonial and early nation-state periods include: "Cultural Adaptation and Militant Autonomy among the Araucanians of Chile" by Robert Charles Padden, "Yaqui Resistance to Mexican Expansion" by Evelyn Hu-DeHart; and Erick D. Langer's research on "Native Cultural Retention and the Struggle for Land in Early Twentieth-Century Bolivia." The contemporary period, as previously mentioned, is presented in articles by Schryer and Vogt on Nahua and Mayan Indian groups.

In spatial terms, six of the articles focus on Indian groups in Mexico, whereas the remaining four deal with South American Indian groups, primarily those living in the Andean highlands. Environmental local and conditions have a major influence on the kinds of cultures that develop, including their traditions and history in any given area. While the geographic diversity of the Mexican Indian groups discussed covers a varied range of environments, there is not a single article on lowland South American Indians. Granted, it would be an impossible task to include articles on indigenous groups from all places in Latin America, nor was it Kicza's intention to produce a definitive work on this topic. Nevertheless, these lowland peoples share a unique history. The fact that many of them are some of the last Indians on the American continent to maintain their homelands, lifestyle and traditions to the degree that they have, it would seem natural to include at least one of these groups in this anthology. Regardless of some of the cultural gaps in this volume, the editor's compilation of various Latin American Indian histories seen through a range of temporal and spatial dimensions, makes this publication an important resource for any scholar interested in cross-cultural anthropological, historical, or political research in Latin America.

The articles provide a range of scenarios, times and places that discuss the reactions and interactions between indigenous peoples

and Europeans and mestizos. One would at first think that there existed extreme contrasts between Indian and Spanish cultural policies and polity. Surprisingly, as Thomas Patterson demonstrates, the Inca during pre-Hispanic times had similar structures for dominating and subjugating other indigenous groups. They required all subjects to provide labor for the Inca state, appropriated land from the people, and enforced a repressive legal code, which was especially rigid towards the lower classes. Patterson adds that this was much the case with Aztec culture as well. During this post-classic period, and afterwards under Spanish domination, there were resistance, border wars, and rebellions by conquered peoples under Inca rule.

The Spanish conquest and colonization of the Incas described by Steve Stern is one where the Spanish took advantage of the system that the Inca had in place to subjugate people and extract labor. In the beginning the Inca hierarchy saw great promise in working with the Spanish to create a colonial economy and aggressively participated in its inception. Later on, when Spaniards depended almost entirely on indigenous communities and would stop at nothing to continue economic production, the power and influence of these royal Inca entrepreneurs crumbled.

Another Indian group that also participated in Spanish life and was integrated into mainstream colonial society was the Mixtec. In the early colonial years, there was little change in the political and social structure of the Mixtecs, nor of their settlement patterns. Many caciques became owners of large estates. Ronald Spores in his article suggests that by accommodating themselves to the Spanish social and economic systems, many Mixtecs became more acculturated than other regional groups that continued to rebel.

The kinds of situational interactions can also swing to the other side of the continuum, where opposition, resistance, and rebellion are common reactions to foreign control. This is demonstrated by Nancy Farris with the Yucatec Mayas. Because there were no pure metals or other desired natural resources, and the jungle environment made it difficult to penetrate the area, the Spanish were not quick to dominate this indigenous region. When they did try to conquer the territory, the Mayans put up fierce resistance, and despite severe depopulation, turned the Yucatan Peninsula into a region of refuge. The Araucanians of Chile, who are especially known for their deter-

mination to remain culturally and politically independent, are another indigenous group that chose rebellion to submission to Spanish authorities. Robert Charles Padden, in his article about Araucanian resistance, writes that they successfully continued as a politically autonomous people until the 1870's. The article by Evelyn Hu-deHart would also place Yaqui Indians on this side of the continuum. Yaqui resistance, especially during the time of Porfirio Díaz, is a classic example of indigenous struggles throughout Latin America during the 1700's through the 1800's. Hu-deHart tells the history of one particular Yaqui leader, Cajeme, who instigated a rebellion against the federal government in the state of Sonora.

The successful maintenance of an autonomous state, for many Indians, required that they learn about the dominant culture, study their habits and behavior, and adopt some of the foreigner's technology and political strategy. In essence their approach required that they become acculturated to certain elements in Spanish culture. Cajeme, the Yaqui leader, was an acculturated Indian who in his early years was sent to school in Guaymas, joined the Mexican military, and fought against the French as well as conservative sectors in Sinoloa. For several years he even fought against his own people. Though he knew little of traditional Yaqui life, he became disgusted with the caudillos and their corrupt system, returned to his people, and reinvigorated the Yaqui's sense of ethnic identity and their demands for social and political autonomy. The Araucanians who worked in the *encomiendas* and gained experience in military tactics, learned much about Spanish military organization and strategy, as well as cultural aspects, such as social customs and religious beliefs. They kept all of this in mind when they decided to rebel. Araucanian leaders had also developed special alliances among peaceful Indians who served these foreigners. They were thus fully informed of Spanish activities on a regular basis.

Once indigenous ethnic groups became acquainted by choice or force with colonial life, they integrated some aspects of Spanish culture, including legal protocol, to legitimize their actions and demands. One of the two ritual situations carried out by rebellious Chayanta Indians of Bolivia, as described by Erick D. Langer in his article, exemplifies such tactics. In efforts to appeal to national authorities for renewed rights to their lands, which had now been

turned into haciendas, a group of Chayanta Indians conducted a judicial trial with their accused hacendados. The trial was a conscious attempt to copy those carried out by the national government. The second ritual, on the other hand, was a show of ethnic autonomy and resistance. This ritual consisted of the sacrifice and ritual cannibalism of an hacendado, whose bones were then buried atop a sacred mountain as an offering to the god who dwelled there.

Few of the articles in this volume touch upon the powerful influence Indian religions, however syncretistic, had in maintaining a separate ethnic identity. Nativistic movements such as the Yucatec Maya-Christian cult of a Talking Cross, which endured for 50 years, or the Cuzcat Rebellion from 1869-1870 in the Chiapas highlands, were rebellions rooted in religious Indian beliefs and worldview. The Chamula Indians, a Mayan group in the highland region, were involved in the Cuzcat Rebellion. Religious syncretism among the Chamulas played a vital role in this revolt, culminating in the symbolic sacrifice of a Chamula boy, who was crucified on Good Friday. Indeed, Evon Z. Vogt, in this volume, points to the importance of religious traditions for maintaining ethnicity. After years of long-term ethnographic research with the Zinacantan Mayas, he writes that the continuities that can be found in traditional Zinacantan culture lie in their language, cosmology, and ritual life. He sees the major culture changes that have occurred in the demography of these people, as well as in technological and economic influences in their life.

One reservation I have about the book is the lack of attention to women, be they Indian, Spanish, or Mestizo. Too many times women are invisible in historical discourse. Their absence in the historical accounts or even in contemporary articles written about the history of a particular group, makes one wonder how these cultures survived, why, if the population consisted only of men, they didn't die out. Some of the authors include a few sentences about women. I found each passage intriguing and would have liked to have seen them expand upon these discussions. The Inca state had the practice of taking chosen women from conquered groups to serve the rulers, their wives and families. In essence, they had some control over the social and demographic reproduction over their conquered subjects. Mixtec inheritance rules, even under Spanish domination, called for property to be divided among males and females. In Oaxaca, William B.

Taylor relates that Mariana, a tall scar-faced Indian, in 1719 led a mob of men and women against Spanish officials, soldiers and priests, and even fought hand to hand combat alongside her companions. Taylor contrasts this with the Indian wars in northern Mexico, where by most accounts only men did the fighting. Or in Bolivia, where during the judicial trial conducted by the Chayanta Indians, some of their major complaints included the rape of Indian women. Finally, what about Spanish women? Padden provides a short discussion about the treatment of captive Spanish women by Araucanian Indians. He writes that the Araucanians intentionally wanted to enrage the enemy, and thus made Spanish women highly prized concubines of the chiefs. When the women were returned to their husbands, they were visibly pregnant.

Other comments I have are that maps, at least one in the Introduction, and perhaps some charts showing comparative information about the indigenous groups in the volume, would have strengthened the book. The suggested readings section at the end is very helpful for future research and teaching, as is the section on selected films. It would have made the task easier for the reader to locate the films if the distributors were listed alongside of the titles. Unfortunately there is no bibliography. Citations and reference material in the articles can only be found imbedded within footnotes at the end of each chapter.

Overall, I commend the editor for selecting such a variety of strong, well written articles for this volume. They are all products of intensive research, are diverse, and provide innovative approaches to the subject matter at hand. The compilation of such high quality academic research makes this publication a valuable resource for all students and scholars of Latin America and of indigenous peoples.

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Audio -Visual Media

- Canal 6 de Julio—"Abriendo el Surco: La Situación Indígena en México"
1993 48 minute video documentary.
1994 "La Guerra en Chiapas."
48 minute video documentary

Notes

¹The demographic statistics are from personal communications with Cultural Survival, an international organization based at Harvard University dedicated to studying, documenting and supporting projects to protect and improve the lives of many traditional cultures threatened with physical and/or cultural extinction.

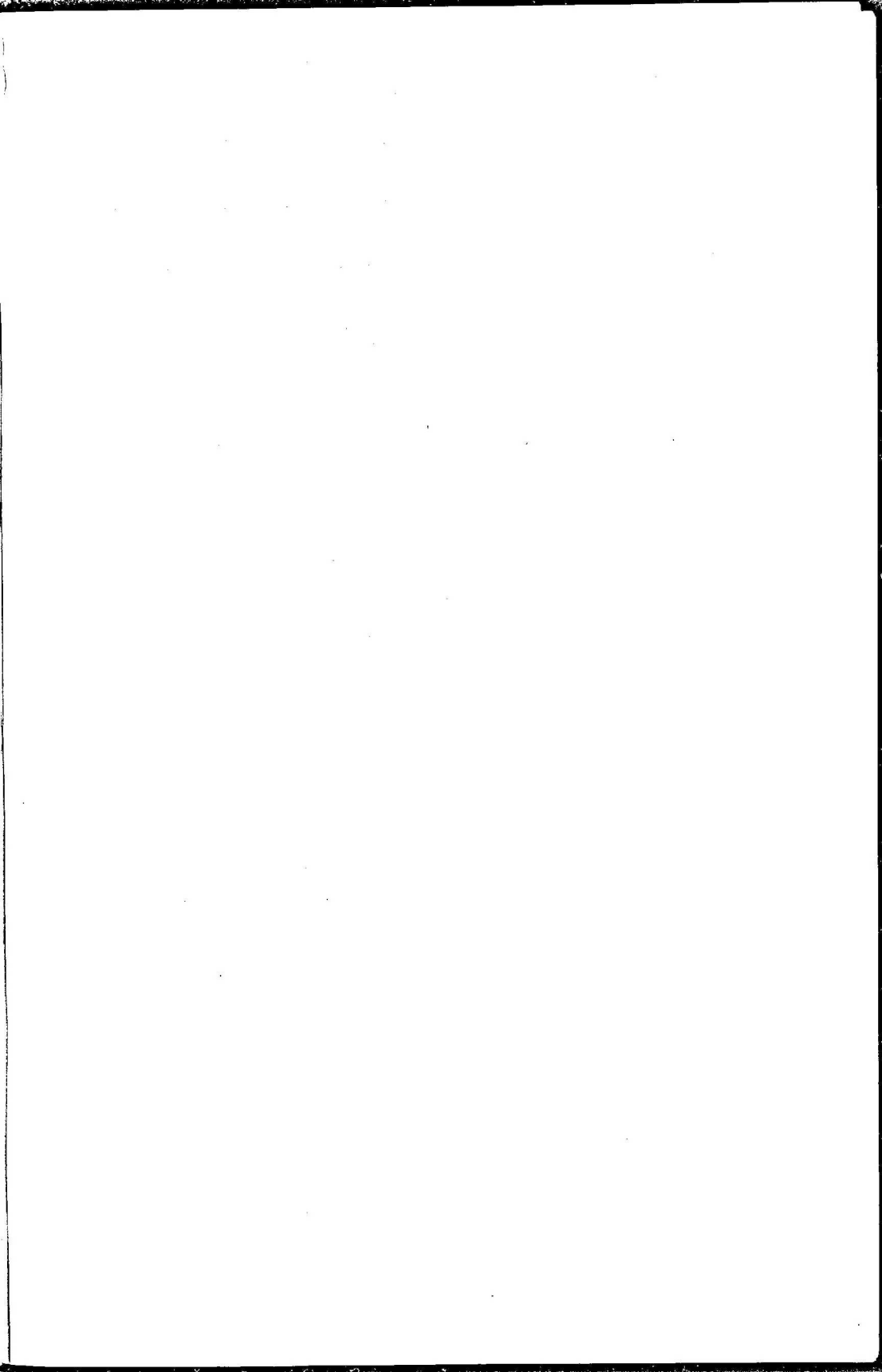
Joint Venture II

In September 1992, St. Mary's University School of Law and the Universidad de Monterrey launched their *Joint Venture*, a "Transnational Study and Training Program for U.S. and Mexican Business Lawyers." This program, the first of its kind to be established in the Americas, was fashioned in response to the growing need for attorneys who understand the legal systems of both the United States and Mexico. Between September 1992 and December 1993, the sixteen U.S. lawyers and the sixteen Mexican lawyers enrolled in the *Joint Venture* gathered for three days during each of thirteen months to learn how to facilitate the transaction of business across the boundary between their two nations. Ordinarily, the Mexican lawyers met in Monterrey, and the U.S. lawyers met in San Antonio. Five times, however, all thirty-two participants met together in one or the other of the two cities. After receiving a total of thirty-nine days of instruction, the thirty-two "graduated" in a ceremony in Monterrey in December 1993.

Throughout the three semesters covered by the *Joint Venture*, the U.S. participants were taught primarily by Mexican professors and practitioners, hailing from various parts of Mexico, and the Mexican participants were taught primarily by U.S. professors and practitioners, hailing from various cities in Texas. The *Joint Venture* experiment proved to be a resounding success. One of the U.S. participants concluded that the program had been "especially useful in establishing business contacts in Mexico." A Mexican participant was delighted that the "program enable[d] lawyers from Mexico and the United States to work together in order to facilitate cross-border business transactions."

The *Joint Venture* was planned by Heriberto A. Amaya, Dean of the School of Law and Social Sciences of the Universidad de Monterrey; Barbara Bader Aldave, Dean of St. Mary's University School of Law; Wayne I. Fagan, Adjunct Professor at St. Mary's University School of Law; and Carlos A. Gabuardi, formerly the Head of the Department of Law at the Universidad de Monterrey and now a Visiting Professor at St. Mary's. The courses in the curriculum included *A General Comparison of Civil-Law and Common-Law Systems*, *Foreign Investment and Maquiladoras*, *Import and Export Regulation*, *Negotiating Techniques*, *The Structuring of International Transactions*, *Methods of Dispute Resolution*, *Consumer Protection and Products Liability*, and some two dozen others.

Given the success of their first *Joint Venture*, St. Mary's University School of Law and the Universidad de Monterrey are following it with *Joint Venture II*, which is scheduled to begin in January 1994. Twenty U.S. lawyers and twenty Mexican lawyers have registered for the new program, which promises not only to teach them about the differences between the civil-law and common-law traditions, but also to increase their understanding and appreciation of the differences between two great cultures.



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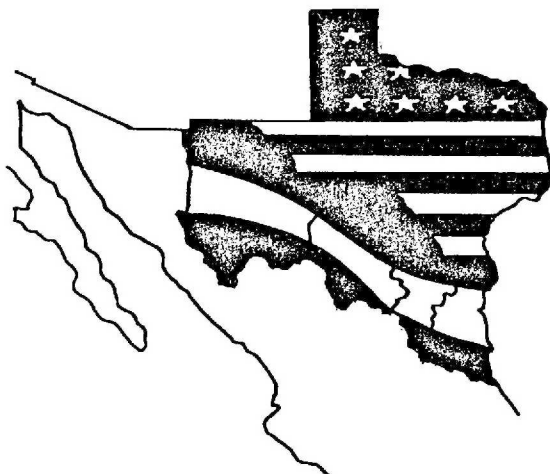
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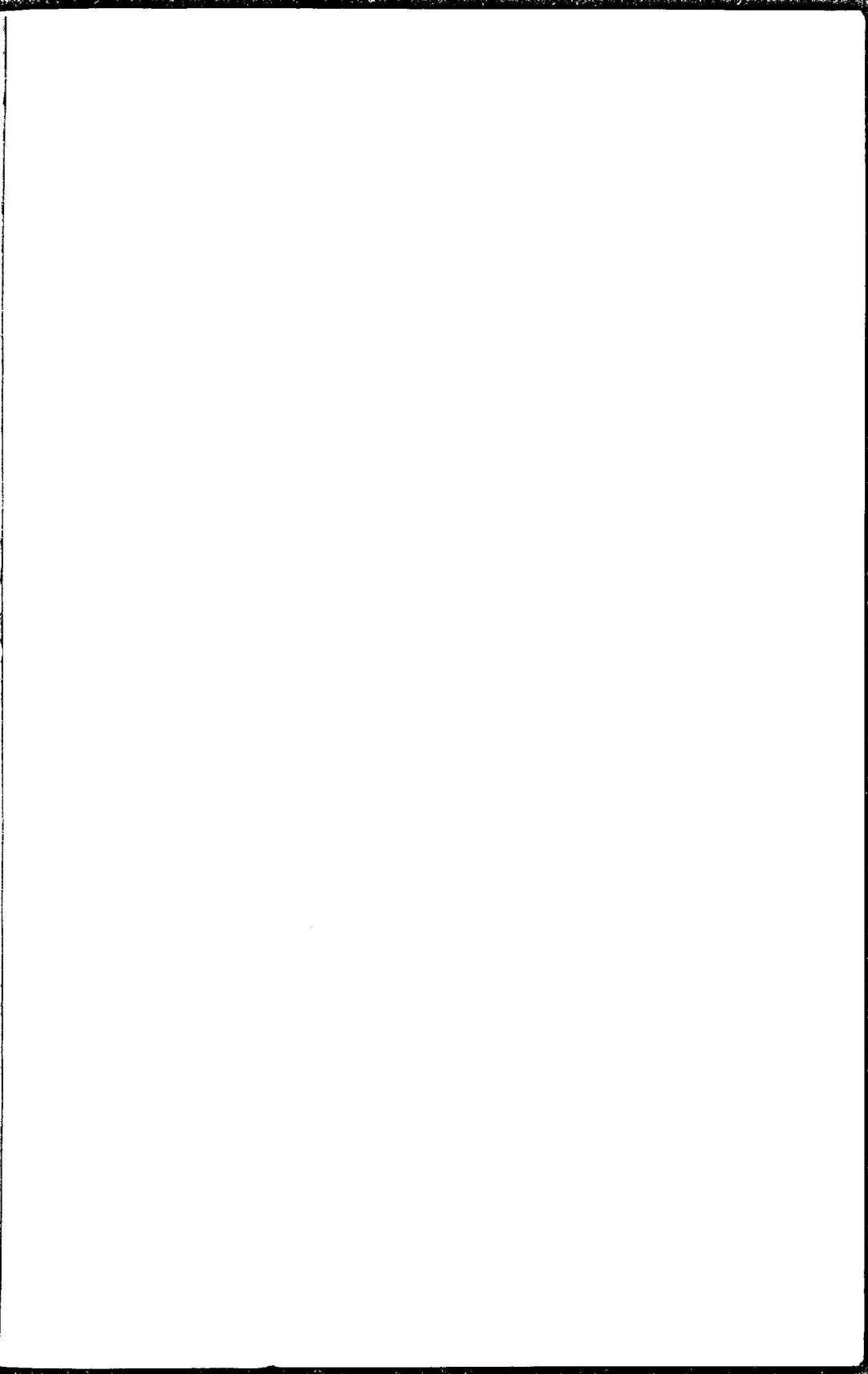
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